

THE ANTIQUE
DESCRIPTION and ACCOUNT
OF THE
CITY of *E X E T E R*:
IN THREE PARTS.

PART I. Containing the antient History, &c. of the City; together with Relations of the fundry great Assaults and Sieges it, Time after Time, sustain'd; and most especially by the conjoin'd Rebels of *Devonshire* and *Cornwall*, in 1549; the various Circumstances of which long and dreadful Siege are amply and minutely detailed.

PART II. Containing a large and curious Account of the Antiquity, Foundation, and Building, of the Cathedral Church of *St. Peter*. To which is added a regular and orderly Catalogue, with authentic Memoirs, of all the BISHOPS, down to Bishop JOHN WOLTON, in 1583. then living.

PART III. Contains the Offices and Duties (*as of Old*) of those particular Sworn Officers, &c. of the City, *viz.* a Freeman, the Mayor, Stewards, Receiver, Recorder, the Common Council and every of them, an Alderman, Chamberlain, Town-Clerk, the Serjeants, &c.

All written *purely*

By JOHN VOWELL, *alias* HOKER, *Gent.*
Chamberlain, and Representative in Parliament, of the same.

E X O N:

Now first printed together by ANDREW BRICE, in *Northgate-street.*
M.DCC.LXV.



To the Honourable

JOHN TUCKFIELD, Esq;

AND

JOHN ROLLE WALTER, Esq;

THE

Representatives of the City in
PARLIAMENT.

HONOURED SIRS,

ADVISED to Dedicate this restored Account of Exeter to some Eminent Person; --- You, Gentlemen, naturally stood foremost to my Mind as most proper. The Author long since preceded You, as Member for this City, in the same Honourable House where You now hold, and long have held, a Seat. You are our Patrons in that Capacity as heretofore was He.

He. The Publick moreover is indebted to * One of You for Two large Portions of the Piece; they being supply'd from his Library. The List of Subscribers is also dignified with both your Names. Wherefore Right requires, and Gratitude dictates, this small Token of my very great, nor less sincere, Veneration.

May You candidly pardon the Presumption, and benignly accept this little Oblation, of,

[* Mr. Walter.]

HONOURED SIRS,

Your most respectful


and obsequious

humble Servant,

Feb. 18.


1765.

Andrew Brice.



THE EDITOR pays due Thanks to his SUBSCRIBERS for so generously encouraging this Publication. And whereas divers Gentlemen express Desire that the History, or at least some Memoirs, of so renown'd a Church and City should be continued, and brought down nearer to the present Time, he begs Leave to assure them, and the Publick, that he would readily endeavour his Part for such their Satisfaction. Accordingly, as he has already requested, so he still wishes for, the Contributions of the Learned, and others possess'd of fit Materials (tho' of themselves but Scraps and Fragments) for the Purpose. He hath already received some, and is promised much more, and these from no ordinary Persons. Now, when he hath procured a Sufficiency, he promises to exert the best of his poor Abilities, in collating, connecting, compiling, and reducing the ruder Matters somewhat into Form. Then will he submit the digested Whole to the critical Inspection and Castigation of the Judicious. Probably also he may be assisted in writing useful Comments and Annotations on Mr. VOWELL's present Works; correcting some of his Slips and Mistakes. For Errors may frankly be acknowledged in him, as well as other (especially antient) Writers. Perhaps too some of his obsolete Words may need Explanation. The EDITOR undertakes a very laborious Task hereby; but such Tasks he hath long been inured to.

Note, the proposed SUPPLEMENT, if printed, shall be done in the same Form and Size with this present Book, fit to be bound with the same.



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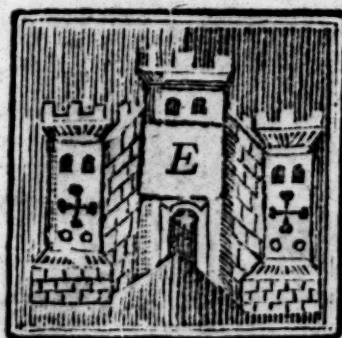
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THE
DESCRIPTION, &c.
OF THE
CITY of *EXCESTER*.



EXCESTER, or *EXCETER*, *Dunmonia*, the Country of Vallies. is a famous and an antient City, being the Metropole and Emporium of the West Parts of *England*, situate and lying in the Province sometime called *Dumnonia*, that is to say, the Country of Vallies: For whereas are many Hills (as that Country is full of Hills and Mountains) there are many Vallies. But now corruptly it is named *Devonia*, or *Devonshire*, and not *Daneshire* of the *Danes*, as some would have it. Of the first Foundation thereof, by reason of the sundry Invasions of foreign Nations, who with their Hostilities and cruel Wars did burn and destroy the same, there remaineth no certain Memorial, neither among the Records of the said City, nor yet in any other Writer.

A

But

Devonia,
Devon-
shire.

The DESCRIPTION, &c. of

But most certain it is, that it was first builded and founded by the *Britons* or *Brutes*: For the Names which they gave and used are yet at this present had in Remembrance, as well among the Chronographers of this Land, as among the *Cornish* People, who were sometimes one with this Province, but now in a County of themselves, and next bordering to this, and in the same Diocese; and they are the Remnant of the Blood of BRUTUS: For when CADWALLADER, King of this Land, by reason of a great Famine and Pestilence was driven to forsake the same, and to fly into *Little Britain* named *Armorica*, which is now under the Jurisdiction of the *French* King, divers and the most Part of his People fled, some into *Wales*, and some into *Cornwall*, where ever since they, and after them their Posterity, have remained and continued.

Corinia.
Baleus lib.
i. Centuri-
arum. Le-
landus in
Genethliaco

The old Chronographers, Searchers, and Writers of Antiquities do find, that this City was called *Corinia*, and thereof the Cathedral Church of the same was (as BALE saith) named *Ecclesia Coriniensis*: Which Name, if it were first given by CORINUS (as LELAND writeth) who, after the Arrival of BRUTUS into this Land, was made the first Duke of this whole West Country of *Devon* and *Cornwall*, which were both comprised under the Name of *Corinia*, and whereof this City ever hath been and is the Metropole, and always Parcel of the Kingdom, then of the Dutchy, and after of the Earldom, and now again of the Dutchy of *Cornwall*: Then out of Doubt this City is of no less Antiquity than the said Names do import. It was also called *Augusta*. Of this Name there were divers Cities so named by the *Romans*; but this only was named *Augusta Britan-norum*, and so called (as some think) by the *Romans* at the

The City of EXCESTER.

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the Conclusion of the Peace made at the Siege of this City, between King ARVIRAGUS and VESPASIAN, Colonel of the *Roman Army* under CLAUDIUS AUGUSTUS. The *Britons* in their Tongue or Language do call this City by sundry Names; the first and eldest in Remembrance is *Penbulgoile*, that is to say, the prosperous chief Town in the Wood, as doth appear by GEOFFERY of *Monmouth*, and PONTICUS VIRUNNIUS. It was also called *Pennebaltecaire*, that is, the chief City or Town upon the Hill, as doth appear in a Traverse between the Bishop, Dean, and Chapter of this City, of the one Party, and the Mayor, Bailiff, and Commonalty, of the other Party, concerning their Liberties. But the Names which the *Cornish* People do at these Presents remember and retain are specially three, *Pennecaire*, *Caireruth*, *Caireiske*. *Pennecaire* signifieth, and is to say, the chief City. *Caireruth* signifieth the red or reddish City, so called and taking the Name of the Ground and Soil whereupon it is situated, which is a red Earth. *Caireiske* is the City of *Iske*, being so called of the River, which the *Britons* named ISKE, and floweth fast by the same. And of this Name HOVEDEN in his Chronicle maketh mention, saying thus: *Anno Domini 877 exercitus Danorum ab Wareham nocte quadam, fœdere disrupto, ad Exeancestre diverterunt, quod Britan- nicè dicitur Caireiske.*

Penbulgoile

*Pennebal-
tecaire.*

*Pennecaire,
the chief
City.*

*Caireruth,
the red
City.*

*Caireiske,
the City
of Eske.
HOVE-
DEN.*

PTOLOMEUS, the famous Astronomer, who was about the Year of our Lord 162, COELL being King of this Land, nameth this City *Isca*, and the River *Isaca*. And BALE, the Searcher of Antiquities, following the same Opinion, doth also name the City *Isca*, and the Inhabitants therein *Iskans*. But, under Correction be it spoken, a Man may well think that PTOLOMEUS being in *Alexan-*

*PTOLO-
MEUS in
tabulis.*

*BALEUS
centur. lib.*

New
Lords new
Names.

Monketon.

dria, and so far distant from this Land, was misinformed, or the Print mistaken: For it is most likely that the River should be named *Ifca*, according to the *British* Speech, wherein it was called *Ifca*; and which Name, by transposing of the two middle Letters, doth at this present remain, being now named *Icfa* or *Exa*. But whatsoever the Censures and Opinions of *PTOLOMEUS* and of *BALE*, who wrote only upon Report, be herein, it is certain, that the Names which the *Brutes* or *Britons* gave were of longest Continuance. And this City was called by their Denominations, by the Space of fifteen hundred Years, until the coming of the *Saxons*, the *Picts*, and the *Scots*, into this Realm, which was about the Year of our Lord 450. For they, where and whensoever they prevailed in any Place, did for the most Part alter and change the Names of all Places and Towns, accounting it a greater Renown, as also a perpetual Memorial of their Chivalry, to give new Names, either of their own Devices, or of their own native Countries: for so is it written of them; *Picti, Scoti, Angli, Daci, & Normanni, in hac insula rerum portiti, cuncta immutârunt, pro tropheis habentes, locis à se devictis nova imponere nomina*. The *Saxons* therefore, as of all other Cities and Towns (few excepted), so of this also they changed and altered the old Names, and called it *Monketon*; and by which Name it was so called by the Space of three hundred and odd Years, and until the Time of King *ATHELSTANE*: For he, about the Year of our Lord 932, being much grieved and unquieted with the Rebellion of the *Cornish* People, because they refused and denied to acknowledge him for their lawful King, did bend his Force, and conduct his Army, against them: And having subdued and prevailed over them, he returned to this City; and

the City of EXCESTER.

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and while he rested here, he repaired the same; and the Walls, which before were but mighty Ditches of Earth, and the Banks set with great Poles of Timber (now destroyed), he builded all of square Stone, as it is recorded: *Hanc urbem primus Athelstanus in potestatem Anglorum fugatis Britonibus reductam, turribus munivit, & muro ex quadratis lapidibus tandem cinxit.* And then he altered and changed the former Names, and called it after the Name of the River *Esseterra* or *Exeterra*, that is to say, *Exeter*. For so is it written, *Est Exonia Urbs Devonie comitatus, loco præcelso ad occidentem versus posita: abluiturq; flumine Exi, à quo nomen habet.* Others name it of the River flowing by it, which they say is named *Excestum*; and thus they write, *Clarissima urbium est Excestria, quæ ab amni Excestro qui eandem præterfluit est sic nuncupata.* I find it also written in an old Chronicle, that it is named *Exancestria* or *Exancestre*; which should seem to be so called by the Saxons. For the most Part of the Cities, Towns, and Forts, which they builded or re-edified, did end in *cestre*; as *Glocestre*, *Lecestre*, *Manchestre*, *Winchestre*, *Oscestre*, *Worcestre*, *Colcestre*, *Cicestre*, *Ilcestre*, *Bicestre*, and this City of *Excestre*, with others. For *Caire* in *British*, and *Cestre* in *Saxonish*, are one Thing, and do signify in *English* a Fort, Tower, or Castle. This City (as is before said) being walled about with Stone by King ATHELSTANE, is not altogether four square, but inclineth somewhat toward a Roundness, and containeth in Circuit or Compass 1600 whole Paces, after five Feet to a Pace; which accounting after the *Italian* manner, 1000 Paces to a Mile, it is a Mile and half about, and somewhat more. The Situation of this City is very pleasant and delicate, being set upon a little Hill among many Hills: For the whole Country round about is mountainous, and full

Ex vitero
libro.

Polydorus
Hist. lib.
5. Exeter.
Baluscen-
tur. lib. in
Britanniæ
descriptio-
ne.

Excester.
Exeancef-
ter.

Caire,
Cestre,
a Fort.

The Site
of Exces-
ter and
Circuit.

The City
is full of
Water
Springs.

The Re-
bels break
and spoil
the Pipes
of Lead
for Waters

The Con-
duits for
Water.

St. Peter's
Conduit.

full of Hills. It is pendent towards the South and West Parts, after and in such Sort, that, be the Streets never so foul or filthy, yet with a Shower of Rain they are cleansed and made sweet. And albeit Hills are commonly dry, yet Nature is so beneficial to this little Hill, that it is in every Quarter full of Water Springs; and by that Means the whole City is thoroughly furnished with Wells and Tirpits; the great good Benefit and Commodity whereof hath well appeared in sundry Times of Necessity, and especially in the Time of the late Commotion, which was in the Year of our Lord 1549. For albeit the Enemy, by breaking and spoiling of the Pipes or Canals, whereby Water was conveyed to the Fountains of the City, from certain Springs distant not a Mile from the same, did abridge them of that Water, yet most comfortably they did enjoy, without Impeachment, the Wells and Tirpits within the Walls, which abundantly floated with Waters, to the satisfying of all People therein.

There are also within this City certain Fountains or Conduits, whereunto, through certain Canals or Pipes of Lead, the Waters from certain Springs, rising in the Fields not far from the City, are brought and conveyed. And these Waters are of most Price, because by the Carriage thereof they are purified, and made lighter than are the other Waters springing within the City; and by that Means more meet for dressing of Meats. Of these Conduits two are special, the one of them standeth and is within the Cemetrie, or Church-yard, of the Cathedral Church of the said City, and is called *St. Peter's Conduit*: The other, being of great Antiquity, standeth in the Middle of the City, at the meeting of four principal Streets of the same, and whereof sometimes

the City of EXCESTER.

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sometimes it took its Name, being called the Conduit The great Conduit. at *Quatrefois* or *Carfox*, but now THE GREAT CONDUIT.

At the higher End of this City is a very old and ancient Castle, named *Rugemont*; that is to say, the *Red Hill*, taking that Name of the red Soil or Earth whereupon it is situated. The Site or Situation of it is eminent, and above both the City and Country adjoining; for they do all lie as it were under the Lee thereof. It hath a goodly and pleasant Prospect towards the Seas, for between that and it is no Hill at all. It is strongly ditched round about, and was first builded (*as some think*) by JULIUS CÆSAR; but rather and in Truth by The Castle builded by the Romans the *Romans* after him, when they had their Recourse to it for their Defence, Refuge, and Abode, many Years. The same was sometimes the Palace of such Kings, as unto whom the Kingdom of *Westsex* or *West Saxons* was allotted unto: And after them it was the Habitation of the Earls of *Cornwall*; and last of all of the Dukes of *Excester*. It was always Parcel and of the Inheritance of the Earldom, but now of the Dutchy, of *Cornwall*. It is in great Ruin and Decay; but not easily to be gotten with Force, if it were re-edified and invironed.

At the Lower End and Part of this City, without the Walls, floteth a goodly and a pleasant River, which the The River of Exe. *Britons* called *Isk*. PTOLOMEUS, by Misinformation, nameth it *Isaca*; but the other old Writers named it *Esse*, *Exe*, or *Excestrum*: And these Names be retained at these presents. It hath his Head or Spring in a certain Moor or Desert, distant from the City about 24 Exe riseth in Exmoor. Miles, called *Exmoor*. It floweth into the main Seas, about

about eight Miles from the City, at a Place named *Exmouth*; and by the Way it is increased with sundry Rivers, Brooks, and Lakes, the chief of which are *Creddie* and *Cullome*. It is well stored and is plentiful of Salmon, Trout, Peale, Dace, Pike, and other like Fresh-water Fishes; which albeit they be very good and delicate, and especially the Salmon and Pike, yet they are the less esteemed, because the Seas, being so near, do furnish the City and Country very abundantly with sundry Kinds of Sea-Fishes most delicate.

The Haven of *Excester*.

The Decay of the Haven of *Excester*.

HUGH COURTNEIE the first Destroyer of the Haven

The main Seas are not distant from the City above 8 Miles, out of which cometh an Arm serving for the Port of the same; which (as doth appear by certain old and antient Records) did sometimes flow up to the very Walls of the City, where Boats and Vessels were wont to be laden and unladen of all Kinds of Wares and Merchandizes, at a proper Place appointed for the same; which at these Presents keepeth his old and antient Name, and is called the *Watergate*. The Decay thereof happened about the Year of our Lord 1312, by one HUGH COURTNEIE, the third of that Name, and Earl of *Devon*; who being offended and incensed against this City, his wrathful Humour could not be satisfied, until by some Means he did impair and annoy the State of the Commonwealth of the same. And seeing that, among other Commodities, the Use of the Haven and Watercourse to the City to be one of the chiefest, he was never quiet until he had destroyed the same: Wherefore, minding to perform what he had conceived, he did, in the Year of our Lord 1313, the first Year of King EDWARD the Second, enterprize and begin his preintended Device and Mischief.

And

And first, whereas the Lady ISABELLA DE FORTIBUS, Countess of *Aumerle* and of *Devon*, his Ancestrix, had builded certain Wears upon the River of *Exe* (the Property and Seignory whereof did appertain to the City), the one of the West Side of the River of *Exe* in *Exminster* Parish, and the other of the East Side of the same River in the Parish of *Topsham*; leaving between the said two Wears a certain Aperture or open Space of thirty Foot, through which all Boats and Vessels, without Let or Hindrance, might have and had their usual Passage and Repassage to and from the City unto the Seas: the said Earl, to abridge and destroy this great Benefit and Commodity, did levy and build a new Wear in the said Aperture or open Room, stopping, filling, and quirting the same with great Trees, Timber, and Stones, in such Sort, that no Vessel nor Vessels could pass or repass.

After him, EDWARD COURTNEIE, Earl of *Devon*, and Nephew to the said HUGH, did not only maintain and continue the Doings of his Ancestor, by his daily repairing and defending the same; but also, to work an utter Destruction for ever of any Passage or Repassage to be had thenceforth to and from the said City, under Pretence to build and make certain Mills, did erect two other Wears, the one at *St. James's* overthwart the whole River, and the other at *Lampreford*; by Means whereof, not only the City did sustain the whole Loss of the Haven, but the whole Country also was surrounded about it, and in Process of Time altogether, and as it is at these Presents, covered with Salt Waters. For which Grievs and Injuries, upon Complaints made thereof, divers and sundry Writs and Commissions of
B
Enquiry

Edward
Courtneie.

Sundry
Inquiriti-
ons & Ju-

ries taken
against the
Earls of
Devon for
destroying
the Haven

Enquiry were awarded and granted by the King ; and the said Earls, by sundry Inquisitions and Verdicts, found guilty. And yet, notwithstanding, such was their Power and Authority, and such was the Iniquity of those Days, as no Justice could take place, nor Law have his due Course against them.

A Keie
first build-
ed at Top-
sham.
The Mer-
chants
compelled
to lade and
unlade at
Topsham
Keie.

Furthermore also the fore-said HUGH, to incroach the Gain and Commodity of the Lading and Unlading of Merchandizes within the Port and River to himself, did build a Keie and a Crane in the River at his Town of *Topsham*, distant from the City about three Miles : And by Power did enforce and compel all manner of Merchants arriving within that Port to unlade and lade all their Wares and Merchandizes brought within that Port (to be laden and unladen) there only. And from thence, ever since, all Wares and Merchandizes have been carried and recarried to and from the City by Horse, Cart, and Waine, though to the Gain of the Earl and his Tenants, yet to the great Trouble and Hindrance of the City and Merchants of the same. Nevertheless, the Port hath evermore, and yet doth, keep his old and antient Name, being called *The Port of the City of Excester* ; and always hath been and presently is payed a Tribute unto the City, by the Name of the *Town Custom*, for all Kinds of Wares and Merchandizes discharged within that Port or River, or the Members thereof.

And although the Watercourse thus being destroyed can hardly be restored to his old pristinate and natural Estate ; for that through long Continuance the old Course cannot be discerned : yet now at length after
many

the City of EXCESTER.

11

many Attempts, and with great Expences, a Water-course and Passage, begun in the Year 1564, is recovered, and by certain Sluices, Boats, and Vessels of fifteen or sixteen Tons, are conveyed and brought up to the City, and there discharged at the old and ancient Place, called *The Watergate*; and where is builded a very fair large Keie or Wharf, as also an Engine, called a Crane, fit for the Purpose. Within the City were sometimes but few Parish Churches, until the Time of INNOCENTIUS the Third; who when in the Year 1198 he had established the Doctrine of Transubstantiation, and had made it an Article of the Symbole, as appeareth in the Decretals, *Titulo de summa trinitate, canone Firmiter*: then his next Successor HONORIUS the Third, in the Year 1218, did not only confirm the same, but also by Decree did establish Reservation, Candle-light, and Praying for the Dead, as doth appear, *Decret. tit. de celebratione missarum, canone Sane cum, & Sane cum creatura*: By which Means the Number of sacrificing and massing Priests did not only increase, but Churches also and Chapels began in all Places and every where to be builded and erected.

The Haven is recovered and renewed again.

A Keie and a Crane builded at Excester.

And among others in this City, in the Year 1222, and the sixth Year of King HENRY the Third, the Parish Churches were limited, and increased to the Number of nineteen Churches within the City and Suburbs, and were called by the Name of *The Christianity* even to this Day. Every of which in Times past was a sufficient and competent Living to maintain a Massing Sacrificer; for such and so great was the blind Devotion of the People then in that *Romish* Religion: But the same now being abolished, and the Gospel preach-

The Parish Churches first limited in Excester.

ed, the Livelihoods are so small, as not sufficient for the most Part to maintain a poor Clerke or Scholar, and by reason thereof, the most Part of them do lye void and vacant, without Incumbent.

A Monastery of St. Benet's Order builded in Excester.

King Etheldred the first Founder of the Monastery. King Edgar Founder of a Religious House in Excester.

The Cathedral Church was first a Monastery and founded by King Athelstane. *Chronica Ecclesie.*

Besides these Parish Churches, there was also a Monastery, sometimes of Monks of St. BENET's Order, but since a Cathedral Church, being of a very fair and sumptuous Building of Freestone, and with beautiful Pillars of grey Marble. It standeth and is situated in the East Part of the City; and (as some report) was first founded and built by King ATHELDRED, the third Son to King ETHELWOLPHUS. Some think that King EDGAR did it. True it is that every of them builded a House for Religious Persons within this City, of which the one was spoiled and burnt by the *Danes*, and the other in Process of Time was united to the Monastery, which is now the Cathedral Church. But the Cathedral Church itself was founded and builded by King ATHELSTANE, the Son to King EDWARD the Elder; for so is it recorded in the History of the same Church, the Words whereof are these: *Athelstanus subiugatis Cornugualensibus, reuersus est ad ciuitatem, quæ antiquitùs Monketon uocabatur, nunc autem Exeter: ac ibi sedens, anno Dom. 932, non tamen lacerata eiusdem ciuitatis mœnia reparabat, quin & mansum quoddam dedit ad fundandum monasterium pro monachis, Deo & sancto Petro famulantibus.*

This King, besides his great Charges and Expences in building this Church, which at the first was but small, and that Part which is now called *The Ladie Chapel*, he placed therein Monks of St. BENET's Order, provided

provided Livelihoods for them, and appointed a Ruler or Governor over them, and who was called by the Name of an *Abbat*, towards whose Diet and Livelihood he gave *Morkeshull* and *Treasurers Beere*: and which at these presents do remain to the said Church, and are annexed to the Dignity of the *Treasureship* of the same. The Church being thus begun, Kings, Princes, and Noblemen, were from Time to Time gladly and willingly very liberal Contributors to the absolving and finishing of the same. For about Fourscore Years after King *ATHELSTANE*, King *KNOGHT*, who was also named *CAHUTUS* or *CANUTUS*, at the earnest Suit of one of his Dukes named *ATHELDRED*, did confirm and grant to *ATHELWOOD*, then *Abbat* of the said Church, and to his Successors, many and sundry Privileges and Liberties, under his Letters Patents, dated the second Year of his Reign, *Anno Domini* 1019.

King
Canutus
confirm-
eth the
Privileges
of the
Monaste-
ries.

After him about thirty Years, King *EDWARD* the Confessor removed the Monks unto *Westminster*, and made this Church a Cathedral Church, and removed the Bishop's See, which was then at *Crediton*, unto this City, making *LEOFRICUS* Bishop thereof, and whom he and his Wife Queen *EDITH* did put in Possession of the same, as appeareth by his Letters Patents, dated the eight Year of his Reign, *Anno Dom.* 1050. Howbeit, the Monk of *Burie* *POLYDORUS* and others do affirm and write, that this should be done about the twelfth Year of *WILLIAM* the Conqueror; for thus they do write: *Habitu est Londini, sub Lanfranco, antistitum et sacerdotum comitium, in quo decretum est, quod aliquot sedes episcopales, quæ in oppidulis & pagis antea fuerant, in urbibus & locis celeberrimis collocarentur, unde factum est ut Batho-*

King
Edward
the Con-
fessor re-
moved the
Monks
unto West-
minster,
and made
this a Ca-
thedral
Church.

Leofricus
first Bishop
of Ex-
cester.

Polyd.
hist. lib.
19.

Chronica
chronico-
rum. lib. 7.

nia,

nia, Lincolnia, Sarisburia, Exonia, Cestria, & Ciceſtria, urbes, huiusmodi novis episcoporum domiciliis sunt nobilitatæ.

The
Charter
of the
Church.

The Con-
queror
confirm-
eth the
Charters
of the
Church,
and enlar-
geth the
Poſſeſſions
of it.

But, the Reverence of these Writers reserved, this cannot be true concerning this Church, because the Words of the Charter thereof do witness the contrary, and declare expressly how that King EDWARD and Queen EDITH his Wife did put LEOFRICUS, the first Bishop, in Possession; the one by the one Hand, and the other by the other Hand, leading him between them up to the High Altar, and there put his Hands upon the same. And yet it may be true, that at the foresaid Council, this removing and placing of this Bishop might be ratified and confirmed. Likewise WILLIAM the Conqueror, in the third Year of his Reign, 1069, did not only confirm the former Charter, but also at the Instance and Request of WILLIAM WAREWEST, then his Chaplain, but afterwards Bishop of the same See, did give unto it the Seignories of *Plimpton, Brampton*, and *St. Stephen's* in *Exceſter*; which the said WILLIAM WAREWEST, being afterwards Bishop, did distribute, giving *Plimpton* to the Religious Canons, whom he placed there; *Brampton* was annexed to the Deanery; but *St. Stephen's* was reserved always to the Bishop, and to his Successors, whereby they are Barons, and so Lords in the Parliament-House.

The Ca-
thedral
was four
hundred
Years in
building.

It was also enlarged from Time to Time with great Possessions, Revenues, Buildings, Riches, Privileges, and sundry other Commodities, by Kings, Princes, Prelates, Bishops, and sundry others. And this one Thing is to be noted, that albeit there were about Four Hundred Years distant from the first Foundation and Building thereof,

thereof, unto the ending and finishing of the same, yet it is so uniformly and decently compact and builded in one Mould, as though it had been done at one Instant. The Bishop is distinct from the Canons, both in House and Revenue; his Livelihoods being no Part nor Parcel of that which appertaineth to the Dean and Chapter. It was sometimes of great Revenues and large Possessions, but the more Part thereof hath been consumed and exhausted by a wasteful Bishop. The Bishop and Canons have very fair Houses, which are situated about the Church and Cemiterie, and are enclosed every Night by shutting fast of certain Gates, by which Occasion it is called a Close, *à claudendo*: and which Gates are to be shut every Night (except at certain Times) and to be opened every Morning at certain Hours appointed, as it appeareth by a Composition made for the same between the Commonalty of *Excester* and the Bishop and Dean of the same. In the Middle of the Cemiterie or Church-yard is a very fair Fountain or Conduit of Water, conveyed by certain Pipes of Lead from out of the same Fields as is the City's Conduit. And albeit the Springs of both Waters are in the same Field, and not far distant, yet this doth excell the other. Out of this Well or Fountain Waters are conveyed to sundry of the Canons Houses, as also of late unto the Bishop's House; and yet it serveth besides the whole Close and City. The City itself is very populous, and was sometimes chiefly inhabited with Clothiers and Clothworkers of Broad Cloaths, serving much for the *Spanish* and *South Countries*; and which in those Days were of such Goodness and Substance, that the Names of them do remain in those Countries: But now it is chiefly inhabited with Merchants, Kersey-Clothiers, and all Sorts of

St. Peter's
Conduit.

The In-
habitants
of this
City.

of Artificers, among whom the Merchants are the chief and wealthiest.

The Government of this City.

Port-greves.

Provosts.

Maïor or Meregreve.

The Maïor's Court.

The Provost's Court.

The Government of this City was sometimes by four Bailiffs, which before the Conquest were called *Portgreues*, that is, the chief Lords or Rulers of the Town: For *Porta* is taken for a Town, and *Greue* in *Saxonie* is *Dominus* or *Maïor*: But after the Conquest they were after the *French* Tongue named *Prouostres*, that is to say *Præfeti* or Rulers, and now *Stewards*. Not long after the Conquest there was ordered and constituted a Senate of Six-and-thirty Persons; but of later Years by King HENRIE the Seventh, of Four-and-twenty Persons; out of which Number yearly there was and is chosen one to be the chiefest Governor for the Year following, and is called by the Name of a Maïor, whom the *Saxons* called *Meregreue*, that is *Maïor Dominus*, or the Chief Ruler. This Maïor, associated with the four Provosts or Bailiffs, hath the hearing, discerning, and determining, in all Civil Causes between Party and Party, and for which they keep weekly upon every Monday a Court in the Guildhall of the said City: But the Bailiffs retaining their old and antient Custom, do keep the like Courts, and in the like Causes, distinctly from the Maïor, by themselves, at all Time and Times (the Mondays and Festival Days excepted) as it shall please them to assign, and with their Court is called by the Name of *The Prouost Court*.

Thus the Maïor and Bailiffs, both jointly and severally, have Jurisdiction to discern and determine in Civil Matters. But if the Matters do touch and concern the Prince, the Crown, the common Peace, any criminal

minal Matter, or the publick State of the City, and Commonwealth of the same, then the same are decided by the Maior and Common Council, or by the Maior himself, or by some other Officer or Officers, according to the Nature and Quality of the Cause and Offence. But because it requireth a large and special Course to describe the Government of this City, and Commonwealth of the same, the Charge of every Officer, the Diversity of Officers, their several Jurisdictions, and a Number of other Things incident unto their Charges; there is a particular Book imprinted, and at large the same is set out, in such Order as is requisite, and appertaining to the Government; whereby every Man may know his Office and Charge, and what to him doth appertain. And let it suffice, that partly through good Government, and partly of a good Inclination, the People of this City have been always dutiful and obedient to the King and the Laws; and have in great Awe and Reverence their Governors and Magistrates for the Time being. And this one Thing is not so strange as worthy to be noted, that even from the Beginning, from Time to Time, they have been careful for their Commonwealth, and vigilant for the Preservation of the same. And as in Times of Peace and Quietness the same hath been well governed, so in Times troublesome and unquiet, it hath been most valiantly defended against the Invasions and Assaults of the Enemies, as by sundry Histories it may appear: Whereof for Example these few may serve.

The good Inclination & Dutifulness of the Citizens.

First ARUIRAGUS, King of this Land, then named *Britaine*, minding to staie the Land in its antient Estate, Freedom, and Liberty, did withdraw and deny to pay unto the *Romans* the Tribute which they did require and

*Claudius
Nero the
Emperor
sendeth
Vespasian
into Bri-
taine.*

*Vespasian
landeth in
Torrebaie,
and layeth
Siege to
the City.*

*King
Aruiragus
rescueeth
this City
and en-
counter-
eth the
Enemy.*

*Annales
Ecclesie
Cathed.*

*Anno Domini 49, Vespasianus cum Romano exercitu civi-
tatem nunc vocatam Exeter, octo diebus obsedit, sed minime
prævaluit, Aruirago rege civibus auxilium præstante.*

*Galfri-
dus Monu-
metensis.*

GEOFRY of Monmouth hath these Words: *Vespasianus
à Claudio missus est, ut Aruiragum vel pacificaret, vel
Romanæ subjectioni restitueret. Cum igitur in portu
Rutupi. applicare voluisset Vespasianus, obviavit ei Aruira-
gus, atque prohibuit ne portum ingrederetur. Retraxit
itaque se Vespasianus à portu illo, retortisque velis in littore
Totonesio applicuit. Nactus deinde tellurem Caier Penbul-
goite, quæ nunc Exonia vocatur, obsessurus; eandem adiuit,
cúmque octo diebus eandem obsedisset supervenit Aruiragus
cum exercitu suo, præliumque commisit: die illa valde
laceratus fuit utrorumque exercitus, sed neuter est victoria
potitus,*

potitus, mane autem facto, mediante Genewissa regina concordati effecti sunt. MATTHEW of Westminster writeth: Aruiragus, Britanorum rex, in tantam prolapsus est superbiam, quod Romanæ protestatis noluit diutius subjectioni parere. Vespasianus igitur à Claudio missus cum in Rutupi. portu applicare incepisset, Aruiragus illi obuius prohibuit ne ingrederetur. At Vespasianus retortis velis in Totonesio littore applicuit, & civitatem quæ Britannicè Caier Penbulgoite, nunc autem Exonia appellatur, obsedit: elapsis inde septem diebus Aruiragus supervenit, præliumque commisit, & utrorumq; exercitu valde lacerato, mediante Genewissa Claudii filia, duces amici facti sunt.

*Flores-
historiarum*

In the History intituled *Nova historia de gestis Anglorum à Britonibus usque ad Henricum sextum*, is written the like in Effect: *Vespasianus à Claudio missus est ut Aruiragum pacificaret, vel Romanæ ditioni restitueret, cui obvians Aruiragus, prohibuit ne terram suam ingrederetur: timens Vespasianus armatorum cohortem, retraxit sese retortisq; velis in Totonesio littore est appulsus, atque urbem Exoniæ obsedit: post septem dies supervenit Aruiragus, prælium committitur, laceraturque utrorumque exercitus; sed neuter potitus victoria; demum, mediante Genewissa regina, reconciliati sunt.*

*Nova
historia.*

It was also in many Troubles and great Perplexities, in the uncertain and troublesome States of this Realm, when sometimes the Romans, sometimes the Picts, sometimes the Scots, sometimes the Saxons, and sometimes the Danes, made their Incurfions and Wars within this Land, by reason whereof the Records and Memorials in those Days for the most Part were lost and consumed.

2.
Flores
historiarum
Penda
 King of
Mercia.
Edwin
 King of
Northum-
berland.
 King
Cadwallo
 is driven
 to flee into
Ireland.

Pellitus
 a Witch
 doth fore-
 tell to K.
Edwin of
 Things to
 come.

King
Cadwallo
 faileth in-
 to *Armo-*
rica.

Brienus
 the King's
 Nephew is
 sent to kill
Pellitus.

II. And yet MATTHEW of *Westminster* writeth that it was besieged by PENDA King of *Mercia*, in the Year of our Lord 632, in the Time of CADWALLIN, one of the last Kings of the *Britons*. The History is this: EDWIN, the *Saxon* King of the *Northumbers*, having Wars against CADWALLIN, or CADWALLO, did so prevail, and had such Conquests over him, that CADWALLO was driven to forsake his Realm of *Wales*, and to fly into *Ireland*; where he being, was very careful and pensifful how to recover his Country again. Wherefore he repaireth his Army, and gathereth a new Force, and gave sundry Attempts to atchieve his Purpose: But all was in vain, for he could never set Foot on Land in his Country, but EDWIN was always at hand, and in a Readiness to stop and resist the same; for this EDWIN had about him in his Service a Man named PELLITUS, who was a Magician, and very skilful in Negromancy, and who by his Art and Science did foreshew and declare unto EDWIN what Things were a doing and attempted against him.

CADWALLO having continually evil Success, was in utter Despair and Distrust to prevail against EDWIN, and therefore, as one giving over all, faileth over the Seas into *Armorica*, now called *Little Britaine*, unto SOLOMON the King thereof, and unto him doth disclose his miserable Estate and Fortune, as also greatly complaineth of PELLITUS and of his Sorceries. When these two Kings had thoroughly consulted and debated the Matter, it was at length concluded and thought best, that some one Man, being bold and witty, should be sent over to the Court of King EDWIN, and to give the Adventure to kill PELLITUS. Whereupon the Matter being

being discovered to BRIENUS, Nephew to King CADWALLO, he taketh upon him to enterprize the Matter; and to cover himself from all Suspicion, apparelleth himself in a poor Beggar's Weed, and so faileth over into *England*, and travelleth forthwith towards King EDWIN's Court, who then lay at *York*, and there joineth and accompanieth himself among the poor People, whose Custom and Manner was to lie about the King's Gates at Dinner and Supper Times, waiting for the Alms usually given, and wont to be distributed amongst the Poor.

PELLITUS being the King's Almoner, and having the Charge to distribute the said Alms, cometh forth, and setteth the poor Folk in Order. BRIENUS, being there and amongst them, watcheth his Time to work his Purpose; and thrusting himself in the Middle of the Press of the People, suddenly with his Poinado or Weapon, which for the Purpose he had prepared, thrusteth PELLITUS into the Body, and gave him a deadly Wound, whereof he died, and forthwith (the Thing in such a Thrust not perceived) shifteth himself away privily, and through Woods, Hills, Thickets, and Dales, out of the common Way, cometh to this City of *Excester*, and declareth unto the Citizens (who were then *Britons*) what he had done: whereof they were very glad and joyful, and in good Hope that their King CADWALLO should yet again return; and therefore upon good Advice do prepare and make ready both themselves and the City, as well for the resisting of the Enemy, as for the receiving, succouring, and aiding of their King.

Brienus
killeth
Pellitus.

King PENDA advertised of this Murder, and understanding the whole Course of the Matter and Practice,
taketh

King
Penda be-
siegeth
Exceſſer.

taketh in Grief the Injury thus done to his Neighbour and Countryman King EDWIN. And therefore, to revenge the ſame, muſtereth his Subjects, and gathereth a great Army; and underſtanding that BRIENUS was come to this City, marched towards the ſame, and in the End layeth his Siege round about it, minding the utter Subverſion thereof. But the Citizens manfully withſtanding his Force, did defend and keep both themſelves and their City, until that King CADWALLO, who before was advertiſed both of the Fact of BRIENUS and of this Preparation of PENDA, did with his Force and Army come to the City, who did not only reſcue the ſame, but alſo joining the Battle with his Enemy gave him the Overthrow, and ſo delivered his Country, and recovered himſelf and his Kingdom.

3.
Polyd.
lib. 5.

III. It was alſo in greater Troubles in the Time of King ALLURED or ALFRED, the fourth Son to ETHELWOLPHUS. For POLYDORUS and others do write, that in the firſt Year of the ſaid King's Reign, the *Danes* concluded a Peace with the ſaid King, and gave Hoſtages for the true keeping thereof. And yet, notwithstanding, moſt perfidiouſly and falſely, contrary to the ſame, they aſſembled themſelves, and upon a ſudden marched to this City, and per Force entered and took the ſame: *Daci etenim qui religionem & fidem pro ſuo commodo poſtponendam ducebant, Londino ſe movent, & maximis itineribus Etoniam proſiſcuntur, urbemq; per vim capiunt.* But long they enjoyed not the ſame; for after that Winter paſſed, the King, to be revenged, marched with a great Power to this City; which the *Danes* underſtanding, and thinking themſelves too weak to withſtand the King, as alſo utterly diſtrusting the Citizens,

The City of EXCESTER.

23

Citizens, shifted themselves away, of which some fled unto *Dartmouth*, and there took shipping, and who for the most Part were drowned in a Tempest at the Seas. Some fled to *Chipenham*, or (as some say) to *Bristol* ; but the King followed and pursued these so sharply, that he never left nor gave over, until he had overcome and slain the Captains HUBBERT and HUNGAR.

The
Danes are
over-
thrown,
and their
Captains
are slain.

IV. Likewise in the Nineteenth Year of the Reign of the said King, the *Danes*, contrary to their Faith, Pledges, and Promises, did again come to this City, and laid Siege to the same. *Danorum exercitus anno 877, ab Wareham nocte quadam, fœdere dirupto, ad Exeance-* stre, quod *Britannicè dicitur Caieriske, diverterunt; at au-* dito regis adventu, ad puppes fugerunt, & in mari præ- dantes manebant.

4.

*Nova
chronica.*

V. It was also besieged by the said *Danes* in the Nineteenth Year of King EGELRED, in the Year of our Lord 1001. For the *Danes*, which were in *Normandy*, being advertised of the good Luck, Success, and great Spoils, which their Companions and Countrymen in *England* had, and their Teeth set on Edge therewith, suddenly prepared Shipping, and came over the Coasts, and landed in *Devon*, and forthwith marched and took their Course towards the City of *Excester* ; thinking to have found the Citizens napping, and to have taken them suddenly and unawares ; *Sed civibus viriliter re-* sistentibus recesserunt. The People and Commons of *Devon, Cornwall, Somerset, and Dorset*, advertised here- of, assembled themselves, and minding to rescue the City, as also to encounter and adventure the Field with the *Danes*, met with them at a Place near the City cal- led

5.

*Flores
historiarum.*

The
Battle at
Pinnebo.
Hoveden.

led Pinnebo, and joined Battle with them, between whom the Fight was cruel, and the Slaughter great. And thus doth Hoveden testify, whose Words be these: *Memoratus paganorum exercitus de Normannia in Angliam revectus, ostium fluvii Exe ingreditur, & mox ad extinguendam urbem Exeancestre egreditur; sed dum murum illius destruere moliretur, ac civibus urbem viriliter defendentibus repellitur, unde nimis exasperatus more solito villas succendendo, agros depopulando, hominesque cædendo per Domnoniam vagatur; quare Domnonenses in unum congregati, in loco qui dicitur Pinbo, certamen cum eis ineunt.*

King
Sweno in-
vadeth
and spoil-
eth the
Land.

King SWENO being in *Denmark*, and advertised hereof, as also given to understand how King ALFRED, *aliàs* ETHELDRED, or EGELRED, had caused all the *Danes* in the Realm to be suddenly slain in one Night, being much grieved therewith, did prepare and provide a great Army for the Revenge thereof. And in the Year of our Lord 1002, he landed in sundry and divers Parts of this Realm, using great Hostility, and making great Spoils, and brought the whole Land to an unspeakable Misery and Distress: But at length, receiving a Tribute for a Peace, he returned home into his own Country. Howbeit the Citizens of *Excester* hearing of this Cruelty used in the East Parts, made themselves strong: And doubting of so mighty an Enemy, did make themselves ready, and prepared the City to withstand him, if he should have attempted any Force or Hostility against them.

Hugh
Earl of
Devon, as

VI. But the *Dane* being gone and returned home, and knowing nothing of this Preparation, one HUGH then Earl of *Devon* (as Princes lack no Fawners) sent his

his Letters into *Denmark* to King SWENO, certifying him both of the State and Wealth of this City, as also of the great Preparation which had been made to withstand him, persuading him not to sustain such an Injury. And as Coals will be soon kindled, even so the *Dane*, upon this Advertisement, was in a great Heat, and forthwith arreareth his Army, and repaireth all Things in Readiness to cross the Seas anew, to work his Will against this City. And accordingly when Time served, in the Year following, being the Year of our Lord 1003, he took the Seas, and landed upon the Coasts of *Devon* and *Cornwall*, and marched forthwith to this City, and laid his Siege against the same, in the Beginning of the Month of *August*, and continued the same until the Kalends of *September*; during which Time were sundry sharp, fierce, and cruel Assaults given by the *Dane*, and as valiantly resisted by the Citizens.

a false Man to his Country, doth betray the City.

King Sweno, by the Treachery of the Earl of *Devon* besiegeth the City.

But in Continuance of Time, when they saw themselves daily more and more to be weakened, Victuals to fail, the Fire round about them, their Walls beaten down, themselves slaughtered and murdered, and the Enemy to increase and be strong; and in all these Distresses, their King ELDRED being fled into *Normandy*, to have no Care of them, nor to prepare any Rescue, Aid, or Help for them: It was not to be marvelled, if, in so heavy a Distress, they were amazed and astonished. And yet considering with themselves that SWENO was a *Dane*, a cruel Enemy, a bloody Murderer, an usurping Tyrant, having no other Title to the Crown of *England* but the Sword, did with one Consent agree and conclude, never to yield nor give over whilst any were left living able to withstand the same; wishing rather to die manfully for their Common-wealth, than to live

King Eldrid as one forlorn, forsaketh his Country.

The Stoutness and Courage of the Citizens.

in Reproach and Infamy, and by Death to reap an immortal Fame, than by Life to become ignominious and infamous, and in the End also to be the miserable Slaves of a cruel and usurping Tyrant.

King Sweno entereth and taketh the City, and utterly destroyeth it.
Wil. Malm.

Rein. Cast.

Hen. Hunt.

When, therefore, after many Assaults, all or the most Part of the ablest Men were spent and consumed, and none or few left alive to withstand so mighty and so many Enemies; the *Dane*, on the 27th Day of *August*, with Force entered the City. And after that he had served and satisfied his bloody Appetites, in deflowering the Women, murdering the Children, and making Havock of all the People, he spoiled the City, burned the Houses, razed the Walls, beat down the Temples, and left nothing to be done which might by Fire, Sword, and Spoils, be consumed. And this is so witnessed by sundry Writers. REINULPH of *Chester* writeth thus: *Daci cum suo rege Sweno Excestriam venerunt, & urbem funditus destruxerunt, nulla re incolumi relicta, quæ aut ferro aut igni vastari poterat: & omnia spolia cineribus tantum relictis secum deportauerunt.* HUNTINGTON hath these Words: *Daci ira exarserunt sicut ignis quem velit aliquis sanguine extinguere: advolantes igitur quasi multitudo locustarum, quidam Excestriam venerunt, & urbem funditus destruxerunt: & omnia spolia cineribus tantum relictis secum deportauerunt.*

Hoveden.

HOVEDEN thus saith: *Rex Danorum Sweni periurium & proditionem Normannici comitis, quem Emma Domnaniæ præfecerat, civitatem Exon infregit, spoliavit, & murum ab orientali usq; ad occidentalem portam destruxit, & cum ingenti præda nave repetiit.*

VII. It was also besieged by WILLIAM the Conqueror, in the First Year of his Reign, *Anno* 1068. For when he first entered this Land, and by dint of Sword fought the Conquest thereof, the Citizens of this City, and the Noble and Gentle Men of all the Country about, entered into one common League, Conclusion, and Promise, to join together, and to withstand the Enemy to the uttermost. And this Confederacy being confirmed by a publick Oath, Preparation on all Parts was made accordingly for the accomplishing of the same. But the Conqueror having prevailed, and subdued in a manner the whole Land, was advertised that this City stood upon their Guard, and would not yield nor submit themselves unto him. Whereupon he sent his Army from *London* and besieged the same; and perceiving the Siege to continue, marched and came himself unto the same; but rather came no farther than *Salisbury*. In the mean time the Citizens were advertised how the whole Realm had yielded, and seeing also how their Confederates did daily shrink away from them, and by that Means they to grow weaker and weaker, and therefore the less able to withstand so great a Force, and to keep out so puissant an Army as was round about them; and considering also, that small Mercy or Favour should they find if the City by Force were taken; did by Way of Intreaty offer Submission, and desire Peace; which in the End they obtained: And so paying a grievous Fine, they and the City were restored. But yet, in Token of his Conquest, the King altered and changed the Gates of the Castle, and took an Oath of all the Citizens to be his liege and true Subjects.

William the Conqueror besiegeth the City.

A League between the Gentlemen and the Citizens to resist the Conqueror.

The Records of the City.

HOVEDEN in his History maketh mention, that GITHA, King HAROLD's Mother, should be within this

Hoveden. Pelychbrox, lib. 7.

*Gitba, K.
Harold's
Mother,
lay in the
City du-
ring the
Siege, and
secretly
fleeth a-
way into
Flanders.*

City during the Time that this Siege and Assault lasted : and perceiving the Bent of the People to submit and yield themselves, secretly conveyed herself away. For these be his Words : *Hyeme minuente rex Wilbelmus de Normannia in Angliam rediit, & Anglis importabile tributum imposuit : deinde in Dunmoniam hostiliter profectus est ad civitatem Excestriam, quam cives & nonnulli Anglici ministri contra illum retinebant : & obsedit, & infregit : Gitba verò comitissa, mater scilicet Haroldi regis Anglorum, & soror Sweni regis Danorum, cum multis de civitate fugiens, evasit & Flandriam petiit, cives autem dextris acceptis regi se dederunt.*

8.

VIII. Also in the second Year of King STEPHEN, An. 1137, the Lords and Peers of the Realm, remembering the Oath which they had before made to King HENRY the First, to whom they swore to be true to MAUD the King's only Daughter and Heir, and to her Heirs ; and yet, contrary to the same, had sworn themselves to King STEPHEN, began to repent themselves, and consulted how to restore MAUD the Empress, and to expel STEPHEN. Wherefore they assembled themselves in Armour, and divided themselves into sundry Cities, Towns, and Castles.

*Baldwin
Ridevers
Earl of
Devon, en-
tered into
this City,
and resist-
eth against
K. Stephen.
Baldwin
the Earl is
taken and
banished.*

Among whom one BALDWIN RIDEVERS, then Earl of Devon, with Force entered and took this City. But the King so sharply followed and pursued him, that he drave him from hence into the Isle of Wight, which was then his Lordship. But the King, when he had received the City into his Faith, marched with his Army to the said Isle, and took the same, as also the Earl himself, whom he forthwith banished. But MAUD the Empress

Empress afterwards remembering this City for such their Service as she well liked, did enlarge the Liberties of this City; for whom yearly ever after was an Anniversary kept at the Charges of the City.

Q. Maud
is friendly
to the City.
Polyd. l. 22

IX. It was also in great Troubles in the Eleventh Year of King RICHARD the Second, *An. 1387*. For a Controversy being fallen between the King and his two Uncles, the Dukes of *York* and *Glocester*, none were then so highly in the King's Favour, as were ROBERT VERE, Marquis of *Dublin*, and MICHAEL DE LA POOLE, Earl of *Suffolk*, and others of their Faction. To these the King gave in Commandment to collect and muster an Army, as it were for his Defence, against his said Uncles; which when they had partly done, whether it were because they mistrusted their own Parts, or whether they doubted of the Sequel of their Doings, they left their Journey towards *London*, as it was first appointed, and came towards this City. The two Dukes, who stood upon their own Guard and Defence, having Advertisement hereof, followed and pursued them with all Haste and Speed: And having overtaken them at this City, they joined the Fight with the Marquis and Earl. But they trusting more to their Feet than their Hands, secretly gave the slip and fled away, making no Stay before they came to *Scotland*; and from thence into *Flanders*, where they died.

^{9.}
The Mar-
quis of *Dub-*
lin and the
Earl of *Suf-*
folk come
to *Exon*,
and are
pursued by
the Dukes
of *York* &
Gloucester.

X. It was moreover in Troubles the Tenth Year of King EDWARD the Fourth, *An. 1469*, when the States of this King and King HENRY the Sixth were doubtful, and the whole Realm divided; some following King HENRY, and some King EDWARD. In Time of
which

10.

The Dut-
chefs of
Clarence,
with o-
thers, com-
eth to *Ex-*
on, being
great with
Child, and
lieth in the
Bishop's
Palace.
Sir *Hugh*
Courtneie
layeth
Siege to
the City.
The Maor
is required
to deliver
the Keys
of the Ci-
ty, and
refuseth so
to do.

which Troubles the Dutcheſs of *Clarence*, the Lord *Dineham*, the Lord *Fitzwaren*, and the Baron of *Carew*, who followed and took Part with King *HENRY*, came to this City, being accompanied and ſtipated with a thouſand Fighting Men. The Dutcheſs was great with Child, and lodged in the Biſhop's Palace; but the Lords were in other Houſes within the Cloſe, among the Canons, and here ſtayed themſelves. But Sir *HUGH COURTNEIE*, Knt. who then favoured and was on the Part of King *EDWARD*, hearing of this Aſſembly, raiſeth an Army of his Friends and Allies, approacheth therewith unto this City, beſiegeth it, breaketh the Bridges, and ſtoppeth all the Ways leading to the ſame; and by which Means no Viſtuals could be brought to the Markets: And being thus encamped about this City ſendeth to the Mayor, requiring him either to open the Gates and to give him Entry, or to deliver unto him the Gentlemen that were therein. On the other Side, the Gentlemen which were within, they either miſtruſting the Mayor and Citizens, or not willing to ſtand to his Courteſy, and be under his Government, required the Keys of the City Gates to be delivered unto their Cuſtody, and that all Things be done by their Order and Appointment.

In theſe Doubts and Perplexities conſulting what were beſt to be done, they did at length reſolve and conclude neither to yield to the Requeſts of them who were without, nor yet to ſatiſfy the Demands of them which were within the City: But pacifying both Parties with ſuch good Words, and in ſuch good Order as they might, did reſerve to themſelves the Keeping and ſafe Cuſtody of the City, being the Chamber of the King, and Parcel

cel of the Revenues of the Crown, to the only Use of the King and Crown, as to them in Duty and Allegiance did appertain. And therefore forthwith they rampiered up the City Gates, fortified the Walls, appointed Soldiers, and did set all Things in such good Order as in that Case was requisite; leaving nothing undone which might be for the Preservation of the State and Commonwealth of the City.

The Maior
and Citi-
zens do
fortify the
City.

But yet, for want of forecasting, in Process of Time the Provision within the City waxed short, and Victuals to be scant; whereof it was doubted there would ensue some Famine; which the Common People neither could nor would endure, if some Remedy were not in due Time had and provided. The Magistrates did their best Endeavour every Way, as well by Diligence in following as by counselling, in persuading every Man to continue firm and true to the Publick State, and their own private Common-weale. And albeit the common People were impatient to abide Troubles, and loth to endure the present State of Want and Famine, yet they had that Respect to their own Truth, Faith, and Safety, as every Man yielded himself contented to abide and endure the Time of their Deliverance: And by the Goodwill of God it followed, and the same took good Effect.

For about twelve Days after this Stir began, by Way of Intreaty and Mediation of certain Canons of the Cathedral Church of this City, the Siege was removed and raised; whereupon very shortly after did ensue the Field of *Edgecourt*, where the Duke of *Clarence* and the Earl of *Warwick* being put to the worst, did flee unto this City, and made their Entry into the same the 3d Day of April,

The Siege
raised, and
the City
delivered.
The Duke
of *Clarence*
and the E.
of *War-*
wick came
from *Edge-*

court Field
to this Ci-
ty, and
from hence
to Dart-
mouth.

April, 1470, and lay in the Bishop's Palace for a few Days, until they had caused to be provided Ships at *Dartmouth* for their Passage over into *Calais*.

The King being advertised which Way his Enemies were gone, followed and pursued them with an Army of 40,000 Men, and came to this City the 14th of *April*, 1470, having with him in his Company fundry and divers great Lords and Estates, as namely the Bishop of *Ely*, Lord Treasurer of *England*; the Duke of *Norfolk*, Earl Marshal of *England*; the Duke of *Suffolk*, the Earl of *Arundel*, the Earl of *Wiltshire*, Son to the Duke of *Buckingham*; the Earl of *Shrewsbury*, the Earl *Rivers*, the Lord *Hastings*, the Lord *Grey* of *Codnor*, the Lord *Audley*, the Lord *Say*, the Lord *Sturton*, the Lord *Dacres*, the Lord *Montjoy*, the Lord *Stanley*, the Lord *Ferris*, and the Baron of *Dudleigh*, with a Number of Knights and Gentlemen. But they all came too late, for the Duke and the Earl were both departed, and gone to the Seas before their coming. Wherefore the King, after that he had rested and reposed himself here three Days, departed and returned to *London*.

11.

*Perkin
Warbeck
cometh to
Excester,
and be-
siegeth it.*

XI. It was also in great Troubles, being besieged, in the Twelfth Year of King HENRY the Seventh, by one PERKIN WARBECK, 1470, who in the Beginning of the Month of *September* came to this City, and encamped about it with his whole Army, with Ordnance battered the Walls, fired the Gates, undermined it, and with mighty Ladders scaled them, and left nothing undone which might be to compass their Attempt; thinking and supposing that small would be the Resistance against them. But such was the noble Courage and
valiant

valiant Stomach of the Citizens, that they manfully resisted, and defended those Forces, and endured the same to the uttermost ; until that the King being advertised thereof, did send the Lord EDWARD COURTNEIE, Earl of *Devon*, and the Lord WILLIAM his Son, with sundry others well appointed, who came and rescued the City : But in certain Conflicts the said Earl and others were hurt ; notwithstanding the Enemy had the Repulse, and was driven to raise his Camp and to depart.

The Earl of *Devon* sent to rescue the City, and is hurt.

XII. Finally, and last of all, it was besieged in the third Year of King EDWARD the Sixth, 1549, by the Commons of *Devon* and *Cornwall* : The History whereof, for so much as hitherto it hath not been fully and at large set forth by any Man, and whereat I JOHN HOOKER, the Writer hereof, was present, and *Testis oculatus* of Things then done, I will somewhat at large discourse and set down the whole Course and Manner of the same. It is apparent and most certain, that this Rebellion first was raised at a Place in *Devon* named *Sampford Courtneie*, which lieth Westwards from the City about sixteen Miles, upon Monday in the Whitsun Week, being the tenth Day of *June*, 1549. The Cause thereof (as by the Sequel it did appear) was only concerning Religion ; which then by Act of Parliament was reformed, and to be put in Execution on Whitsunday the ninth of *June*. The which Day being now come, and the Statute made for the same to be put in Execution throughout the whole Realm ; it was accordingly with all Obedience received in every Place, and the Common People well enough contented therewith every where, saving in this West Country, and especially at the said *Sampford Courtneie*.

12. The Rebellion or Commotion in *Devon*.

The Rebellion first began at *Sampford Courtneie*.

The Cause of this Rebellion was for Religion.

E

For

For albeit at the Day appointed by Statute, they had heard and were present at the Divine Service said, and had, according to the new reformed Order, and could not in any Respect find Fault or justly reprehend the same; yet (as old Bottles which would not receive new Wine) would rather wallow in the old Dregs and Puddles of old Superstition, than to be fed and refreshed with the wholesome and heavenly Manna. Wherefore they confederated themselves, utterly to renounce, reject, and cast off the same, not only to the great Offence of God, whom they ought in all Truth and Verity to reverence and honour; and to the great Displeasure of the King, whom in all Dutifulness they ought to have obeyed; but also to the raising of open Rebellion, the Cause of the Spoil of the whole Country, and the undoing of themselves, their Wives, and Children; as in Sequel and in the End it fell out and came to pass.

The
Want of
Preaching
was the
Cause of
the Re-
bellion.

And here doth appear what great Detriments do come and ensue to the Church of God, and what great Troubles to the Publick and Commonweale, when as Learned Preachers do want to teach and instruct the People, and well persuaded Magistrates to govern the Common State. For these People lacking the one, and not stored with the other, were left to themselves, and to their own Dispositions: and thereby partly of Ignorance, but more of a froward and rebellious Disposition, they do now utterly condemn to accept, and do openly resist to receive, the Reformed Religion, now put, and to be put, in Use and Execution. For upon the said Monday, the Priest being come to the Parish Church of *Sampford*, and preparing himself to say the Service according to the Book and Reformed Order set forth, and as he had
done

done the Day before ; some of the Parishioners, namely one WILLIAM UNDERHILL a Taylor, and one SEGAR a Labourer, and others who had consulted and determined before of the Matter, went to the Priest, and demanded what he meant to do, and what Service he would say ? Who answered, that, according to the Laws set forth, he would say the same Service as he had done the Day before. They then said, that he should not so do ; saying further, that they would keep the old and antient Religion, as their Forefathers before them had done ; and as King HENRY the Eighth by his last Will and Testament had taken Order, that no Alteration of Religion should be made, until King EDWARD his Son were come unto his full Age. And therefore, for somuch as he was now but a Child, and could do nothing, they also would not have any Change.

*Underbi!
and Segar
the first
Captains
of the Re-
bellion.*

In the End, all the Parishioners joining and taking Parts together, were all of the same Mind, willing and charging the Priest that he should use and say the like Service as in Times past he was wont to do : Who in the End, whether it were with his Will, or against his Will, he relied to their Minds, and yielded to their Wills : and forthwith ravisheth himself in his old Popish Attire, and sayeth Mass, and all such Services as in Times past accustomed. These News, as a Cloud carried with a violent Wind, and as a Thunder Clap sounding at one instant through the whole Country, are carried and noised even in a Moment throughout the whole Country : And the common People so well allowed and liked thereof, that they clapped their Hands for Joy, and agreed in one Mind, to have the same in every of their severall Parishes.

*The
Priest was
compelled
because he
would be
compelled
to say
Mass.*

The Ju-
stices re-
sort to
Sampford
and do no
good.

The Justices of Peace dwelling not far from *Sampford*, being advertised how disorderly, and contrary to the Laws, Things had been done in the Church of *Sanp--ford*; and how that the common People were cluster'd and assembled together, to continue and to maintain their lewd and disordered Behaviour: Such of them, namely Sir HUGH POLLARD, Knt. ANTHONY HARVIE, ALEXANDER WOOD, and PARKE SLADER, Esqrs; came and met at *Sampford*, minding to have Conference with the chief Players in this Interlude, as well for the Redress of the Disorder already committed, as also to persuade and pacify the rest of the People. But they partly understanding before hand of the Justices coming, were so addicted, and wholly bent to their Follies, that they fully resolved themselves wilfully to maintain what naughtily they had begun. And therefore, when the Justices were come to the Place, and requested to talk with them, they refused it, unless the said Gentlemen would leave all their Men behind, and go with them into a certain several Close not far off; and so they would be contented to confer with them.

The
Gentle-
men were
afraid of
their own
Shadows.

The Gentlemen, albeit they and their Men were the greater Number, and sufficient to have repressed the small Company of the Commoners then and there assembled; yet, whether it were because they thought in such Case to use all the best and quietest Ways for the pacifying of them; or whether some of them, being like affected as they were, did not like the Alteration, as it was greatly suspected, they yielded; and according to the Motion made, they left their Men in the Town, and went into the foresaid Close, and there having had Conference a pretty while together, did in the End depart

depart without any thing done at all. Whereof as there appeared some Weakness in the said Justices, which were so white liver'd, as they would not, or durst not to repress the Rages of the People (which they might have done) so thereof also ensued such a Scab as passed their Cure, and such a Fire as they were not able to quench: For the Commons having now their Wills, were set upon a Pin, that the Game was theirs, and that they had won the Garland before they had run the Race; nothing forecasting what might ensue, nor yet accounting what Folly it is to triumph before the Victory. Wherefore they assemble and confederate themselves throughout the whole Shire in great Troops and Companies, and do associate and flock unto them the *Cornish* People, minding to join together, and foolishly to maintain what rashly they had begun.

The King and Council, then occupied in the weighty Causes concerning the State of *Scotland*, being advertised of this towards Rebellion, and respecting the speedy Redress thereof, sent forthwith for Sir PETER CAREW, Kt. who then was in *Lincolnshire*, and for Sir GAWEN CAREW, who was then Attendant at the Court, and to them Commandment was given, that forthwith, and with all Speed, they should hasten and depart into *Devon*, and there to use, by the Advice of the Justices, all the best Means and Ways that they might for the appeasing of this Rebellion, quieting of the People, and pacifying of the Country; and to cause every Man quietly to return to his Home, and to refer the Causes of their Grievs and Complaints (if they had any) unto the King and Council: And if they then refused so to do, they to use such other good Means and Ways as might

Sir Peter Carew
and Sir
Gawen Carew sent
into *Devon*

might be for the suppressing of them. And the Council being daily more and more advertised, that these begun Rebellions did more and more increase, and doubting of the Sequel thereof, by reason that in other Places of the Realm the like Tumults were begun, tho' not for the like Causes; do direct and give an Order to the Lord *Russel*, then Lord Privy Seal, and after Earl of *Bedford*, that he also should follow and dispatch himself into *Devon*; and he had a Commission to deal in such Order as he might best do for the pacifying of the said Tumults and Uproars.

The Justiciaries
do assemble all at
Excester.

The foresaid two Knights, having received their Commission under the King's Hand, came in Post into the Country, and making their Repair to this City, do forthwith send for Sir PETER COURTNEIE, then Sheriff, and the Justices of the Peace of the Country; and understanding that a great Company of the Commons were assembled at *Crediton*, which is a Town distant about seven Miles from *Excester*, and that among them were the *Sampfurd* Men, and who were the Chief of them; took Counsel and Advice what was best to be done, and what Way meetest to be taken. In the End it was concluded, that the said Sir PETER and Sir GAWEN, with others, should ride to *Crediton*, and there to have Conference and Speeches with the said Commons, and to use all the good Ways and Means they might to pacify and appease them, they then supposing, and being persuaded, that by good Speeches and gentle Conferences they should have been able to have compassed and persuaded the said Commons. But the People being, by some secret Intelligence, advertised of the coming of the Gentlemen towards them, and they fully resolved not to

Sir Peter
Carew, by
the Advice
of the Justices,
rideth to
Kirton.

to yield one Jot from their Determinations, but to maintain their Cause taken in Hand, do arm and make themselves strong, with such Armors and Furnitures as they had, they intrenched the Highways, and make a mighty Rampiere at the Town's End, and fortify the same, as also the Barns next adjoining to the said Rampires with Men and Munition, having pierced the Walls of the Barns with Loops and Holes for their Shot.

The People at *Kirton* do arm themselves and rampier up the Ways.

The foresaid Gentlemen, knowing nothing hereof, rode on their Journey; and being come almost to the Town, they were advertised how the Ways were stopped and rampired, and that they could not ride into the Town. Whereupon they alighied from their Horses, and after a little Conference had, they agreed to go into the Town on Foot, nothing thinking less that they should be stopped or denied to go in on foot. But when they came to the Rampires they found the contrary; for they not only were denied to come near the Rampire, but utterly were refused to be talked withall: No Offers of Persuasions, nor Motions of Conference at all could be allowed. For the Sun being in Cancer, and the Midsummer Moon at full, their Minds were imbrued in such Follies, and their Heads carried with such Vanities, that as the Man of *Athens*, they would hear no Man speak but themselves, and thought nothing well said but what came out of their own Mouths.

The Gentlemen upon such Checks taking the Matter in evil Part, to be so unreverently and discourteously intreated, with one Consent do agree to make way over the Rampire. But in the Adventure thereof they were so galled both by them which kept the Rampires, and

The Barn
at the
Town's
End at *Kir-*
ton are set
on fire.

and specially by such as were within the Barns, that they were fain to retire and give place, with the Loss of some and the Hurt of many. In which Distress a certain Serving-man named Fox, and retaining to Sir HUGH POLLARD, suddenly set one of the Barns on fire: Whereupon not only such as were therein, but all they also which were in the Rampires, fled and ran away. And then the Gentlemen, having recovered the Rampire, went into the Town; but they found none except a few poor and old People, the Residue, trusting better to their Heels than to their Arms, were fled to a further Place: And then they returned again to *Excester* without any Thing done.

An Assem-
bly of the
People at
Clift Mary,
or *Bishop's*
Clift.

The Noise of this Fire and Burning was in Post-haste, and as it were in a Moment, carried and blazed abroad throughout the whole Country; and the common People, upon false Reports, and of a Gnat making an Elephant, noised and spread it abroad, that the Gentlemen were altogether bent to over-run, spoil, and destroy them. And in this Rage, as it were a Swarm of Wasps, they cluster themselves in great Troops and Multitudes, some in one Place, and some in another, fortifying and intrenching themselves as though the Enemy were ready to invade and assail them. And among other Places one was at a Village belonging to the Lord RUSSEL, named *St. Mary Clift*, distant from *Excester* about two Miles, where the Commons of the Country thereabout had begun to fortify the Town for their Defence and Safety.

The Cause and Pretence of their Doings herein was not only the burning of the Barns at *Crediton* aforesaid, which all the Commons generally did use for a Cloak
of

of this their Rising and Rebellion; but this one Thing also increased their Disposition:—It happened that a certain Gentleman, named WALTER RALEIGH, dwelling not far from thence, as he was upon a Side Holiday riding from his House to *Excester*, overtook an Old Woman going to the Parish Church of *St. Mary Clift*, who had a Pair of Beads in her Hands, and asked her what she did with those Beads? And entering into further Speeches with her concerning Religion, which was reformed, and as then by Order of Law to be put in Execution, he did persuade with her that she should, as a good Christian Woman, and an obedient Subject, yield thereunto; saying further, that there was a Punishment by Law appointed against her, and all such as would not obey and follow the same, and which would be put in Execution upon them.

A Cause
why they
rose at Bi-
shop's Clift.

This Woman, nothing liking nor well digesting this Matter, went forth to the Parish Church, where all the Parishioners were then at the Service; and being impatient, and in Agony with the Speeches before passed between her and the Gentleman, beginneth to upbraid in the open Church very hard and unseemly Speeches concerning Religion, saying that she was threatened by the Gentleman, that except she would leave her Beads, and give over Holy Bread and Holy Water, the Gentlemen would burn them out of their Houses, and spoil them; with many other Speeches very false and untrue, and whereof no Talk at all had passed between the Gentleman and her. Notwithstanding, she had not so soon spoken but that she was believed: And in all Haste, like a sort of Wasps, they fling out of the Church, and get them to the Town which is not far from thence,

F

and

and there began to intrench and fortify the Town, sending abroad into the Country round about the News aforesaid, and of their Doings in hand, flocking, and procuring as many as they could to come to and join with them.

The
Town of
Clift is for-
tified, and
the Bridge
rampired.

And they fearing or mistrusting lest the Gentlemen which were then at *Excester* would come upon them, they first fortified the Bridge, which lieth at the End of the Town towards the City, and laid great Trees overthwart the same, as also planted certain Pieces of Ordnance upon the same, which they had procured and fetched from *Topsbam*, a Town not far from thence. But before they came into the Town, they overtook the Gentleman, Mr. RALEIGH aforesaid, and were in such a Choler, and so fell in Rages with him, that if he had not shifted himself into the Chapel there, and had been rescued by certain Mariners of *Exmouth*, which came with him, he had been in great Danger of his Life, and like to have been murdered. And albeit he escaped for this Time, yet it was not long before he fell into their Hands, and was by them imprisoned, and kept in Prison in the Tower and Church of *St. Sidwell's*, without the East Gate of the City of *Excester*, during the whole Time of the Commotion, being many Times threatened to be executed to Death. But to the Matter : ———

Walter
Raleigh,
Esq; in
Danger of
the Rebels

Sir *Peter*
Carew and
others ride
to *Clift*.

These the Doings of the Commons being advertised to Sir PETER CAREW, who then was in *Excester*, he assembleth all the Justices and the Gentlemen, and conferreth with them what were best to be done; and in the End concluded and agreed, that he, Sir GAWEN CAREW, Sir THOMAS DENIS, Sir HUGH POLLARD, and fundry others, should ride to *Clift*, and there to use all the

the best Means they might, for the pacifying and quieting of them. And accordingly, in the next Morning, being Sunday, they all rode thither ; and being come almost to the Bridge, they perceived the same to be rampired, and no Way to be open for them to pass into the Town. Whereupon Sir PETER CAREW alighted from his Horse, and, mistrusting nothing, was going on foot towards the Bridge. But such was the Rancour and Malice conceived against him, partly for Religion, and partly for the burning the Barns at *Crediton*, which was laid altogether to his Fault, that the Gunner, whose Name was JOHN HAMON, an Alien and a Smith, and dwelling then at *Woodbury*, not far from *Clift*, by the Procurement and Abetting of some there, having charged his Piece of Ordnance there lying, levelled the same, to have shot and discharged it at him ; which he had done, if one HUGH OSBORNE, Servant then to Sergeant PRIDEON, had not let him and stayed his Hand.

Sir Peter
Carew like
to be slain.

The Gentlemen, perceiving they could not pass into the Town, do send in a Messenger unto the Town, advertising them that they were come to talk friendly with them, as also to satisfy them if they had any Cause of Grief, or were by any body misused. They at this Message and Motion staggered awhile, and cast many Doubts : But in the End they sent Word that they were contented that if Sir THOMAS DENIS, Sir HUGH POLLARD, and THOMAS YARD, Esq; would come into the Town to them, and leave their Men behind them, as also would take Order, and give their Faith and Promise, that no Hurt should be done or offered to be done unto them, whiles they were thus in Conference together : that then upon these Conditions they would be

The Conference of
the Gentlemen
with the
Commoners at *Clift*.

contented to talk with them. Upon which Promise made and assured unto them, the foresaid three Gentlemen went into the Town about Ten of the Clock in the Forenoon, and there tarried and spent the most Part of the Day in much Talk, and to no Purpose; as in the End it fell out.

The other Knights and Gentlemen, which in the mean while tarried without, and waited a long Time, even until the Day did draw toward Night, began to mislike of the Matter, some speaking one thing and some another; yea and some of them in plain Speeches said they would ride over the Water, and issue into the Town. But the Friends and Serving-men of the two Knights, respecting the Promise made before their Entry into the Town, but especially their Masters Safety, which by Breach of Promise might be put in Peril, did utterly mislike and were grieved with those Speeches, and whereof began a little quarrelling among themselves; but forthwith pacified and quieted. And yet some one or two of the Company rode to the Water's Side, and with their Staves searched the Depth thereof: For at that Bridge the Water at every Tide (by reason that the Seas are so near) swelleth up and reboundeth. Which Thing when they in the Town did see, forthwith cried out Alarm, and made much ado; and some of them began and grew into such Rages, that the Gentlemen within the Town began to distrust their Safety.

A Mutiny towards among the Serving-men.

This Man was named Richard Carwithian, Servant to Sir Peter Carew.

Nevertheless, the Conference and Talk herewith ended, and they came away; who as soon as they were come to Sir PETER CAREW, they were demanded what they had done, and how they had sped: Who answered,

answered, Well enough ; and, giving no other Answer, they rode all together to *Excester*, deferring the Discovery of their Doings until their coming thither. The same Night they supped all together ; and after Supper ended, and all the Servingmen avoided out of that Room, Sir PETER CAREW demanded of them what they had done, and what Agreement they had made ? Who answered that the Commons had promised, and were contented to keep themselves in good and quiet Order, and to proceed no further in their Attempts : so that the King and the Council would not alter the Religion, but suffer it to remain and tarry in the same State as King HENRY the Eighth left it, and until the King himself came to his full Age. Sir PETER CAREW and all the Residue nothing liking this Answer, being far from their Expectation, were for the Time in a great Dump or Study ; but in the End misliked and discommended both the Matter and the Manner of their Dealings ; insomuch that Sir PETER CAREW, and Sir PIERCE COURTENIE, then Sheriff of *Devon*, openly, sharply, and in plain Terms, inveighed against them for their slender, or rather sinister, Dealings in so weighty a Cause ; wherein they all ought rather to have used all Means to have suppressed their Outrages than to have maintained their Follies : And therefore, as there was a Blame in them, so was there a plain Rebellion in the others.

The Agreement offered by the Commons.

But though the two Knights would have excused the Matter, and have purged their Sincerity herein ; yet on each Side Words were so multiplied, that they brake asunder, without any further Dealings, and every Man shifted for himself, some one Way, some another Way.

The Gentlemen depart asunder, and every Man shifteth for himself.

The

The High-
ways are
stopped &
intrenched

Sundry
Gentle-
men taken
and impri-
soned.

A few
Gentle-
men tarried
in the
City.

Sir Peter
Carew ri-
deth to Ld
Russel, be-
ing at
George Hin-
ton.

Sir Peter
Carew ri-
deth to
Court, and
advertiseth
the King &
Council.

The Commons, understanding hereof, stop all the Highways, casting great Trenches, and laying great Trees overthwart the same, and do watch and ward the same: And by that Means sundry Gentlemen suspecting no such Matter, and making way to their appointed Places, were entrapped, taken, and put in Prison, and many of them kept in Durance, during the whole Time of the Commotion, and abode great Hardness, and were in Peril of Life and Limb; many were taken because they would be taken, and found Favour; and many, forsaking their Houses and Home, were driven to sequester and hide themselves in Woods and secret Places. In the City none, or very few, remained or tarried, saving six or seven Persons then known of: For by Conference had before with the Maior, it was known that the City was unprovided of sufficient Victuals, meet for such a Company as the foresaid Gentlemen were.

The Gentlemen which tarried and remained in the City, namely, Sir Roger Blewet, Knt. *John Beauchampe*, *Bartholomew Fortescute*, *John Courtneie*, and *John Peter Customer*, Esqrs. and others, did very good Service, as well in their Persons as in their good Advices and Counsels; saving such as secretly kept themselves close in certain Houses then unknown. Sir Peter Carew very early in the next Morning took his Horse, and, the Highways being then not stopped, he escaped and rode unto *George Henton*, a Place of Sir *Hugh Paulett's* in *Somersetshire*; where was the Lord *Russel*, being then newly come from *London*; and unto him he gave to understand how all Things had passed; who forthwith dispatched and sent him away to the King and Council to advertise them of the same. The King at the first hearing of the Mat-
ter

ter was very much grieved, and in great Perplexity in two Respects ; the one, because at this instant the like Tumults and Rebellions (tho' for another Cause) were now raised and begun in other Places ; the other was, because he was inforced to leave and give over the appointed Attempt for the Conquest of *Scotland*, and to employ now those Soldiers and Strangers, whom he had retained for that Service, for the quenching of this Fire kindled at home.

The King grieved to hear of the Commotion. The determined Conquest of *Scotland* was hindered by the Rebellion.

Nevertheless, minding to follow the first, and to appease the last, he sent very courteous Letters, gracious Proclamations, and many merciful Offers, unto all the Commons of these Parties, to have pacified and satisfied them; if they had had so much Grace so to have accepted it. The Commons being now entered in their Follies, and having driven the Gentlemen to the Flight, do openly shew themselves Traitors and Rebels ; and therefore assembling themselves do appoint out Captains to direct and order both themselves and all their Proceedings ; and as the common Proverb is, *Like Lips like Lettice*, as is their Cause so are the Rulers, the one being not so bold and evil as they wicked or worse. The Captains then are these : *Underhill* a Taylor, *Maunder* a Shoe-maker, *Seager* a Labourer, and *Aisberedge* a Fish-driver, with sundry other such like, the worst Men, and the Refuse of all others, though most meet in this Service. Howbeit it was not long before that certain Gentlemen and Yeomen of good Countenance and Credit, both in *Devon* and *Cornwall*, were contented not only to be Associates of this Rebellion, but also to carry the Cross before this Procession, and to be Captains and Guiders of this wicked Enterprize, as namely in *Devon*

The King useth all gentle Perswasions to reduce the Commoners to Conformity.

The first and chief Captains of the Rebellion.

Sir

Sir *Thomas Pomeroy*, Knt. *John Burie*, and one *Coffin* Gentlemen; and, in *Corwall*, *Humphry Arundell* and *Winneslade*, Esqrs. and *Holmes* a Yeoman, with sundry others, who for the most Part were in the End executed and put to death; and their Facts, to the Memorial of their perpetual Infamy, recorded in Chronicles.

The Rebels send to the Maior of this City to join with them.

The Maior and Citizens refuse to join or deal with the Rebels.

The principal and chief Captains in *Devon* being fully resolved by their own Power and Authority to maintain and continue the Religion, according to the Romish Church, and utterly to impugn the Reformation thereof, established by Act of Parliament, and to support the Authority of the Idol of *Rome* (whom they never saw) in Contempt of their true and lawful King, whom they knew and ought to obey: These, I say, sent their Messengers unto the Maior of this City, whose Name was *John Blackaller*, to move and pray him to join with them; they thinking that they having by these Means the Liberty to have free Access to and from the City, and the Help of the Citizens, should not want Money or Armour, or any Thing else to serve their Turn. The Maior forthwith advertised unto his Brethren this Motion; and albeit, some and the chiefeft of them, did like and were well affected to the Romish Religion, yet respecting their Duty to God, their Obedience to the King, their Fidelity to their Country, and Safety to themselves, gave their full, resolute, and direct Answer, that they would not join nor deal with them at all.

This Answer was nothing liked, and therefore sent they their second Messenger, requiring and commanding them to maintain the old Catholick Religion with them, and to do as they did, or else they would besiege them,

them, and per Force compel them thereunto. The Maior and his Brethren returned their former Answer, adding moreover that they in their Doings were wicked and bad Men; and they did and would repute them for Enemies and Rebels against God, their King, and Country; and so renounced them. The one Side, therefore, as they prepare to besiege the City, and to work all the Extremities they can, by Force to take that which by Words they cannot obtain; so, on the other Side, the Maior and his Brethren, upon good Advice, guarded and watched the City with sufficient Men, armed both by Day and by Night. The Rebels (according to their Determination) relying themselves upon a vain Hope, thinking that notwithstanding the Answer before made, yet because the most Part of the Citizens were of their Opinions, and of the like Affections in Religion, would not resist them: as also that they had many Friends within the City, more ready to join with them than to follow the Maior, if they might have the Choice what to do: they came, being in Number about Two Thousand Persons, to the City, upon the second of *July*, 1549, first making Proclamation, that if the City would not yield, and join with them, they would enter with Force and take the Spoil of it; and so then they, upon the Denial, compassed the same round about, and gained unto them at the first all the Suburbs.

Preparation is made on both Sides to withstand the one the other.

The City of Exon besieged.

And hereof they conceived such a vain Hope to have their full Desire upon the City, that not only the Number in Hope did daily more and more increase, but also many of them brought their Wives, Horses and Panniers, persuading themselves, and promising them, by
G such

*The vain
persuasi-
ons of the
Rebels to
have the
Spoil of
the City.*

*The City
is viewed
for Ar-
mour, and
all Things
are pre-
pared for
Defence of
the City.*

such a Day, and upon such a Day, to enter into the City, and then to measure Velvets and Silks by the Bow, and to lade their Horses home with Plate, Money, and other great Riches. The Maior and his Brethren, forecasting the Perils which might in such a Case ensue, do provide all Things necessary and meet wherewith to defend themselves, and to annoy the Enemy. The City therefore is viewed for Armour, Men are mustered, Soldiers are retained, Captains in every Ward appointed, Wardens for the Day and Watchmen for the Night assigned, great Pieces of Ordnance laid in every Gate, and placed in all convenient Places of the Walls; Mounts in sundry Places erected, as well for laying of Ordnance, as for saving of the Soldiers and Watchmen from the Enemies Shot; and nothing was left undone which in any Respect that present State and Necessity required.

*The Re-
bels stop
up all the
Ways co-
ming to
the City.*

*The Re-
bels plant
their Ord-
nance a-
gainst the
City, and
break up
the Con-
duit Pipes,
and burn
one of the
Gates.*

*The
Gates of*

The Rebels likewise intrench the Highways, plash down Trees, break down Bridges, keep Watches and Wards in every Place; so that no Man could pass to or from the City without their Sufferance. The Markets are stopped, Victuals are kept from it, and all Dealings and Intercourses shut and cut off; and having (as they bragged) penned and shut up the Townsmen in a Coop or Mew, they plant their Ordnance against every Gate, and in all other such Places as best to serve their Turn, and to hurt them within. They burnt the Gates, they brake up the Pipes and Conduits, as well for the taking away of the Water coming to the City, as also to have the Lead to serve for their Shot and Pellets. But for the burning of the Gates, there followed rather a Benefit than a Hurt thereof: For forthwith there were made certain Rampires within the Gate, which were far

far stronger, and of more Defence, than the Gates, as also there were Fires continually kept every Night between the Rampires and the Gates : And as for Water, the City so standeth upon a Hill, that it is full of Springs in every Quarter within the same, and by that Means full and plentiful of very good and sweet Waters. Also they in sundry Places did undermine the Walls, minding thereby with Gunpowder, and with other Matters fit for Fire, to have blown up the Walls, and so to have entered in that Way; but herein they were also prevented, by this Means and in this Manner : ———

The City itself (as is before said) is set upon a little Hill, and lieth very steeping towards two of the Gates. And at one of these, named the *West Gate*, the said Rebels had undermined on the one Side, and filled the Place with certain Barrels of Powder, Pitch, and other Stuff meet and apt to receive Fire, and had appointed the Night when the same should be set on fire, and so to have blown the Walls up. At the same Time there was a certain Tinner in this City, whose Dwelling was at *Teingmouth*, named *John Newcombe*, who depended much upon the Goodwill and Friendship of Mr. *William Hurst*, one of the Aldermen of the City; and he understanding of such an Undermining to be in working, advertised the same to Mr. *Hurst*, and maketh him privy how he would prevent the same; which was done in this Manner. For whereas he by a Noise under the Ground did suspect the Undermining to be in working, he took a Pan of Water, and did put the same on the Ground, and by shaking of the Water in the Pan, he by removing the Pan from Place to Place, came at length to the very Place whereat the Miners

the City were kept open continually, and rampired within side, as also Fires kept burning all Night in the same.

The City being full of Water-Springs, they want no Water.

The City Walls at the West Gate were undermined; but by countermining the same was prevented.

The Underminings of the Walls how it was found and were destroyed.

were working; and forthwith he counter-mined against the same, and wrought so near unto it, until that he might and did see and look into it. That done, he caused all the Walls [Wells] and Tirpits in the City towards every Street, having a Fall that Way, to be drawn at one Time, and every Man therewith to fill a great Tub of Water at his Fore-Door; which being done, he caused them all at one Instant to be cast out and emptied; which Water running in great Abundance towards the said *West Gate*, was conveyed into the Place countermined, and so entered and drowned the Place which before was mined; at which Time also, by the Goodness of God, there fell a great Shower, as the like, for the Time, had not been seen many Years before, and which at that Instant greatly served this Turn.

A pretty
Stratagem
of the Re-
bels.

The Rebels, perceiving themselves disappointed of their Purpose, gave over to deal any further in those Attempts: Howbeit, otherwise, they left nothing undone which might be to annoy the Citizens; for sometimes they made Alarms, as tho' they with all Might and Main would have given the scale: And indeed they had provided Ladders for the same Purpose. Sometimes they by Policies would seek to come to t^e Gates to burn them, and herein they used this Stratagem. They provided Carts laden with old Hay, and driving the Wheels before them, would come to the Gate without Danger, and so set fire in the Gate. But notwithstanding they escaped not scot-free, for both at the West Gate and at the South Gate their Comings being perceived, the great Port Pieces were charged with great Bags of Flint Stones and Hail-shot: And as they were approaching

approaching unto the Gates, the Gates were secretly opened, and the said Port Pieces discharged, and so they were spoiled divers of them, and by that Means they had small Pleasure to follow those Devices; as also the Citizens, to prevent the same, did from thenceforth keep the Gates open. Likewise, they would keep themselves close in sundry Houses, in the Suburbs near the Walls, and would so watch the Garrets, that if any within the City would look out at the Garrets, was in the Danger of their Shot, and some thereby were killed, and many hurt. Upon which Occasion the Citizens set some Part of the Suburbs on fire, and some Part which was next to the Walls they beat and brake down, and so drave the Rebels out of those Holes. Besides this, they had in sundry Places their great Ordnance so set and placed, that in certain Streets and Places none could go but in Peril and Danger of their Shot, which their Devices were choaked, by making of certain Mounts to shadow the Streets from the same. Divers other Devices they practised, to the continual Annoyance of the City, which, tho' they were grievous and dangerous, yet not to be compared unto the Perils which were within the Walls among themselves, and whereof had ensued the Confusion of the whole City, had not the LORD GOD of his Goodness kept and preserved the same. For the Serpent of Division, and the Fire of Malice, was entered into the City, many being envenomed with the one, but more scalded with the other.

The City
Gates kept
always open.

The Sub-
urbs
burnt, and
the Hou-
ses beaten
down.

The City
divided
within it-
self into
two Factions
of Religion.

In the City were two Sorts of People, the one, and the greater Number, were of the old Stamp, and of the Romish Religion. The other, being of the lesser Number, were of a contrary Mind and Disposition; for they wholly

wholly relied themselves to the Reformed Religion, and to the King's Proceedings, and endeavoured themselves to obey and follow the same. The first were so addicted to their own Fantasies, and their Bottles were so far seasoned with the old Wines, that they cannot abide to hear of any other Religion than as they were first nuzled in. Wherefore to keep and observe that was their only Endeavour, and in respect whereof they regarded not King nor Keisar, passed not for Kin nor Friendship, regarded not Country nor Commonwealth, but were wholly of the Opinion of the Rebels, and would have no Reformation in Religion; and, howsoever all other Things fared, that must needs remain as in Times past had been used.

The Discretion & great Circumspection of the Magistrates.

The secret Conferences of the Papists.

The Magistrates and Chieftains of the City, albeit they were not as yet fully resolved and satisfied in Religion, yet they, not respecting that, but chiefly their Dutifulness to the King and Commonwealth, nothing like the Rebellion, nor bear with the same, but they do all Things to defend the City and themselves against their rebellious Attempts; and likewise do their best Endeavour to keep their own Citizens in Peace and Quietness. Whereupon the Favourers of the old Romish Religion, being inwardly grieved that they could not have their Will, nor obtain to have the Gates to be opened, that those good and religious Men (as they termed them) might come in, they used private Conferences with them, sometimes by secret Conferences over the Walls, sometimes by private Letters privily conveyed to and fro, by Messengers lurking and attending for the same, sometimes by open Speeches in Times of Truce, and many Times by Bills and Letters bound fast about Arrows,

rows, and so shot to and fro: And by these and other such like Means they discovered, each one to the other, their Purposes and wicked Devices and Practices: All which tended to this Effect, to betray the City, and to set up the Religion.

Howbeit, these Things were not so secretly done, but the same were known, and manifest Arguments and Proofs thereof did appear; And, among sundry, some one of them, being of good Credit and Countenance, and of the Number of the Common Council, whose Name was JOHN WOLCOT, a Merchant, was so far enchanted herein, that upon a certain Day he being (as his Course came about, a Captain for the Day, and to ward one of the Gates that Day, presuming that partly by reason of his Charge that Day, and partly for that he was one of the Common Council, he might do more than indeed did appertain to him, he upon his first coming to the West Gate in the Morning met with certain of his Confederates, and, after Conference had with them, went suddenly out at the Wicket of the Gate (which Gate, as then, was not rampired) and carrying the Keys with him, went unto the Rebels, and had a long Conference with them. But it took small Effect, for he promised (as it after appeared) more than he could perform, which turned to his great Discredit; both for that he himself very hardly escaped their Hands, who were bent to have kept and retained him, as they did the two others who went out with him; as also when he came in, was both checked and blamed for his Doings.

A fond
Enterprize
of an ex-
pert Citi-
zen.

At another Time the Mayor upon an Occasion assembled all the Commoners unto the Guildhall, every
Man

This Tay-
lor died
after in
Prison for
Debt.

What
Man pur-
poseth God
disposeth.

A wick-
ed Practice
to receive
the Rebels
into the
Castle.

Man being in his Armour, and the Papists being then the greater Number, some one of them, named *Richard Taylor*, a Clothier, thinking by making of a Tumult or an Uproar they should be too hard for the others, and so attain to their Purposes, having his Bow bent, did nocke his Arrow, minding to have stricken the Man to whom he levelled the Shot ; but gaging his Hand, and missing his Mark, he struck his own and best Friend JOHN PETER, the King's Customer, a Gentleman of good Countenance and Credit, who had died thereof, had not the Arrow lighted upon one of his Rib Bones. A great Muttering was like to have bred a Tumult ; but, the Matter known, it was appeased. Also at another Time there was a Practice made with the Soldiers who had the Charge and Custody of the Castle, that they should receive in at the Postern of the said Castle a certain Number of the Rebels ; whereunto the said Soldiers, through Corruption, had given their Consent. The Day and Time were appointed for the same : But whether the same by secret Advertisement were discovered, or whether the Matter were mistrusted, or whether it pleased God to move the Hearts of certain Men to take the View of the Castle, and of the Manner of the Soldiers Usages there ; it is most certain that by the Repair and Resort of certain Men, under the Colour to walk and see the Treachery, it was espied, and the Practices discovered, and their whole Devices prevented. Likewise many Times and often there were Truces made, and sundry Parlies and Conferences had with the Rebels, which were procured to the only End that they might compass their Devices. And this was a common Practice with them, that whensoever the Parly was appointed, there should be Hostages or Pledges put in

in on both Parties: And they, as Men upon whom the greatest Weight of the Matter did depend, would require to have the best and most chosen Citizens, to be Hostages with them, instead and for the Safety of those which they would send to the Parly for them, who for the most Part were the Refuse, the Scum, and the Rascals, of the whole Country; and yet such they were in this Case, as who ruled the Roast, and bore the whole or chiefest Sway; and the worse the Man, the greater his Authority among them; which was good enough for so wicked a Matter taken in Hand, according as the common Adage is: *Dignum patella operculum*, Like Lips like Lettice.

The chief Rulers & Captains among the Commons the worst Men.

But during the Time of these Truces and Parlies, there being then a Time and Scope of Liberty to talk and confer with them, every Man at his Pleasure, there wanted no Devices, under Colour of friendly Conferences, to devise how to compass their Intents: Howbeit, it pleased the Eternal God so to carry and rule the Hearts of the Magistrates, that albeit, being nuzled in the Romish Religion, they were affected thereunto, yet they so much respected their Duty to their Prince, and the Safety to the Common-wealth, that they openly professed they would never yield the City as long as they lived, and were able to keep and defend the same.

Great Practice used to procure the Citizens to join with the Rebels.

For the Maior himself, Mr. *William Hurst*, Mr. *John Butler*, Mr. *John Britnall*, Mr. *William Periam*, and others of the Ancientest of the City, being by sundry Means, Ways, Devices, and Reasons, persuaded to conjoin themselves in this Rebellion with the Commoners: They all with one Mind and one Voice gave a flat Answer, That in the City they had been brought up, there

The faithful & flat Determination of the Citizens to refuse the co joining with the Rebels.

H

they

they had gotten their Livings, there they had sworn their Fidelity and Allegiance to their King and Prince, there they had faithfully hitherto served him, and there would continue so as long as they could, to the uttermost of their Powers All which their Promises and Avowries (the Lord be praised !) they performed.

The last
and peri-
lous Prac-
tice of the
Rebels.

But to the Matter.—Sundry other Treacheries and Devices were practised, which particularly to recite were very tedious and to no Purpose. The last, but the most perilous, Practice was this :— When these Malecontents saw themselves to be prevented in all their Devices, which before they had but secretly and privately practised, now, they conjoining themselves together, do openly shew and declare themselves ; being persuaded that because they were the greater Number, and that also the most Part of the poor People were weary, and for Want of Victuals would not endure to be pinned in any longer, that therefore many would join against a few, and that the Game would go on their Side.

A pestilent
Practice.

And so, on a Sunday, being but two Days before the Delivery of the City, about Eight of the Clock in the Forenoon, a Company of them in every Quarter of the City, having their Consorts in a Readiness to join and serve with them (if Need so required), get into the Streets, walking with their Weapons and in their Armour as to fight with their Enemies, and cry out : “ Come
“ out these Hereticks and Two-penny Book-men !
“ Where be they ? By God’s Wounds and Blood we
“ will not be pinned in to serve their Turn : We will
“ go out and have in our Neighbours ; they be honest,
“ good and goodly Men.” Their Pretence and Meaning being then, that if any of the contrary Side had
come

come out, they would have quarrelled with them, and have taken Occasion to set upon them, and so raise a new Tumult.

But, by the Providence and Goodness of God, it so fell out, that some being in their Houses, and some at their Parish Churches, the Maior and Magistrates were first advertised hereof, before the others heard anything of the Matter: And they, according to their Wisdoms, pacified the Matter, and sent *John Vincent, John Sharke*, and others, the Bellweathers of this Flock, unto their Houses. Howbeit, in the South Gate Street and at the South Gate, there was a little Stir; which being soon stopped, there ensued no Hurt thereof, other than a broken Pate or two: For, as it fell out, the Wardens of that Gate at that Time were against them, and of the greater Company. These and many other like Practices were daily and continually used on the one Side, which in the End came to no Effect, because *the Lord kept the City*.

The Papists were disappointed of their Purposes.

The others, on the other Side, being altogether bent to honour God, obey the King, and to serve in their Commonwealth, were fully resolved to keep and defend the City, whose Cause, being just and good, was sufficient of itself to keep them in that Mind: And yet their Courage was the more, for that they saw the good Bent of the Maior and Magistrates; who, howsoever they were affected otherwise in Religion, yet they were wholly bent and determined to keep and defend the City: And therefore they, seeing the Industry, Carefulness, Service, and Painfulness of these Men, do favour, encourage, and countenance them, and (to say the

The Determination of the honest and good Citizens.

Truth) by the Industry and good Service of them, the City was chiefly kept and preserved.

The best
Citizens
confederated.

For there was no Service to be done within, nor Exploit to be adventured without, upon the Enemy (as many Times there were Sallies given), but these were the chiefest, and commonly the only, Doers : For which Cause the contrary Side marvelously maligned at them, and sought by all Means how to impeach and endanger them. Which Thing being daily perceived more and more by sundry Arguments, and as wise Men seeking how to prevent the same, did many and sundry Times confer among themselves herein, and in the End made a Covenant and a faithful Promise among themselves (being then about the Number of one hundred Persons) that they would stand firmly and faithfully to the Defence and Keeping of the City to their uttermost Powers.

The Care-
fulness of
the good
Citizens,

And, if it so fell out, that the Rebel and Enemy should have Access and Entry into the City, that then they should all meet at the Lord *Russel's* (now the Earl of *Bedford's*) House, and there to issue out at the Postern of the Garden, and to give the Adventure to pass and to escape away, as also if they were resisted, that then they to stand together to their Defence. And for this Purpose they had then named some one Man to be their Captain for this Enterprize. And in the mean Time, to do all Things circumspectly for the Preservation of the City, and by a particular Covenant among themselves, did take Order, that during the whole Besieging of the City, and their Abode therein, a certain Number, by Course, and besides the ordinary set Watch, should watch, ward, and walk about, continually both by Day and Night ; by which Means no Sleight nor Treachery

Treachery could be practised, but that they should have an Inkeling and Understanding thereof; and which indeed stood and came to such Effect, that it was the chiefest (if not the only) Cause of the Preservation of the City for that Time. For there was no Service, no Diligence, no Care, nor any Thing wanting or left undone, which by these Men was not done.

Howbeit, the Devil, the Author of all Division and Strife, who cannot abide any Unity, Concord, and Agreement, did here also hurl in a Bone among these Men, whereof had ensued a great Detriment to the Common State, and an Overthrow to themselves, had it not in due Time been prevented. There were two Gentlemen within this City, and both of this Company; the one was born of an honourable House and Parentage, named JOHN COURTNEIE, a younger Son to Sir WILLIAM COURTNEIE, of *Powderham*, Knt. and a Man of very good Knowledge and Experience in Service: The other also was a Man of very good Service, Practice, and Experience; his Name was BARNARD DUFFELD, and Servant to the Lord RUSSELL, and Keeper of his House in *Excester*. Both of these were very forward and careful in this present Service against the Rebels. But there fell an Emulation between them, which, albeit it be very commendable in good Things, and he praise-worthy who can best excel therein, yet when the same shall tend to a Division of a Publick State, the Dissolution of a Commonwealth, the Breach of common Society, or the Maintenance of any Evil, it is utterly to be shunned and lamented.

A Vari-
ance be-
tween *John*
Courtneie
and *Barnard*
Duffeld.

It

A Sally
made u-
pon the
Rebels.

It happened, upon an Occasion offered, that certain of this Company, upon a Time, issued out at the 'foresaid Postern, and made a Sally upon the Enemies, and had such good Success, that some of them they slew, some they took Prisoners, as also spoiled them of their Goods, and brought away with them some of their Ordnance, namely Baffles and Slings: Howbeit they all escaped not scotfree, for some of them were taken, some also were hurt, as namely JOHN DRAKE, who the Year before was the Receiver of the City, was shot thro' the Cheeks with an Arrow, which he brought into the City with him, and one JOHN SIMONS, a Cook, was so hurt that he died thereof.

But among them all one JOHN GOLDSMITH, being of that Company, and a Servant to RICHARD HELIERD, of the same, Goldsmith, and a *Fleming* born, had the best Success; for in the same Skirmish he was taken Prisoner by one of the Rebels, who offered, in taking him, with his Bill to have slain him. With that this JOHN GOLDSMITH fell down and yielded himself, having then in his Hand his Piece or Hand-Gun charged; and suddenly, the other not mistrusting nor marking the same, he discharged into his very Belly, and so slew him, took the Spoil of him, and brought the same into the City with him.

This Skirmish, tho' it were not clear Gains to this Company, yet it so encouraged them, that from Time to Time they consulted, and in the End determined to make a fresh Sally, and to give a new Adventure: Whereupon there fell and grew a Disagreement between the two 'foresaid JOHN COURTNEIE and BARNARD DUFFELD,

DUFFELD, the one affirming that the same was not to be permitted in any Fort or City, which stood upon Defence or Guard, without a very special Order of the General or Chief Captain, or some urgent Necessity, especially in that present Distress and Extremity wherein the City as then did stand. But BARNARD DUFFELD, being very loth to lose any Part of his Credit, or to desist from that which he with others had determined, could by no Means be persuaded to the contrary, but plainly affirmeth that what he had determined should be performed.

Whereupon the 'foresaid JOHN COURTNEIE resorteth to the Maior, advertiseth unto him the Matter, and dealeth so fully and with such Persuasions with him, that the Maior assembleth his Brethren, and sendeth for the foresaid DUFFELD; who being come, the Matter was at full debated and discoursed, and in the End concluded that it was very hurtful and dangerous to that present State, that any such Issuing-out should be granted or permitted: And therefore praying the said DUFFELD to stay his Determination, and to be contented. But he being impatient, and thinking his Credit to be stained, if he should be debarred or denied to do that which he had faithfully promised, did utterly refuse to yield to this the Maior's Request; as also, by continuing of Talks, fell out in foul and disorder'd Speeches. Whereupon, to avoid a further Inconvenience, he was commanded to Ward. The Daughter of this DUFFELD, whose Name was FRANCES, hearing that her Father was in Ward, and taking in Grief that so great an Injury (as she term'd it) should be done to her Father, came more hastily than advisedly unto the Maior, somewhat

A Broil
towards.

Frances
the Daugh-
ter of *Bar-*
nard Duf-
feld strake
the Maior
in the Face

what late in the Evening, and required to have her Father out of the Ward. Which Thing being denied unto her, she waxed so warm, that not only she used very unseemly Terms and Speeches unto the Maior, but also, contrary to the Modesty and Shamefacedness required in a Woman, especially young and unmarried, ran most violently upon him, and strake him in the Face. This was taken in so evil a Part, and fearing that it had been a set Match of some further Inconveniencies, the common Bell was forthwith rung out, and also a Rumour spread, that the Maior was beaten, or killed.

The whole Commons immediately, in great Troops, and the most Part in Armour, ran to the *Guildhall*, where the Maior was, who, though he was safe, yet were they so grieved with this Injury, that they would in Haste have run to the Lord *Ruffel's* House, where she was then gone, and have fetched her out: But the Maior forecasting what Inconveniencies might ensue, and respecting the Necessity of the present State, was not only contented patiently to wrap up those Injuries, but also earnestly requested the Commoners to do the like; who being so pacified, he went home, and they conducted him into his own Doors. The Canons of the Cathedral Church, which at that Time were resident in their Houses within the Close there, namely Archdeacon *Pollard*, Treasurer *Southron*, Chancellor *Luson*, and Mr. *Holwell*, with others of the said Church, who joined with the Maior and Citizens in this Service, for the Safeguard of the City, and did keep both Watches and Wards, and their Men ready at all Times to serve in every Alarm and Skirmish; they, at the hearing of this disorder'd

disorder'd Part were very much grieved therewith, and they likewise forthwith assembled all their Men, and being well armed and appointed, they went to the Maior, who was then gone home to his House, and then and there very friendly did comfort him, and offered to stand by him, and to assist him in all the best Service they were able to do, for his Defence, and Safety of the City.

The said Archdeacon offered, that in proper Person he would herein stand in his Behalf against all Persons whatsoever, that would attempt or offer to do him any Wrong. And in the End, after sundry friendly and good Speeches, they departed to their Homes. And the said Archdeacon, every Day after, would either come or send to the Maior. This Maior being a Merchant, and only exercised in that Trade, had small Reach in Matters of Policy or Martial Affairs. He was Maior of the City three Times, and in every Year there grew some Troubles in the City; but he had such a special Care and Regard to his Charge and Government, that he would never attempt nor do any thing therein, but by the Advice and Counsel of wise, grave, and expert Men; and God so blessed him, that he prospered, and had good Success in all his Doings.

Besides these and sundry other former Perils, the which the City many and often times stood in, and by the Goodness and Providence of God still overcome, there befel and happened a third one, which exceeded all the rest, and whereof the greatest Danger and Peril was feared; and this was Famine, or Penury; which of all other Turmoils and Perils is most dangerous, and

Bread
made of
Bran and
of Puffins.
Victuals
was scant
within the
City.

no other Plague to be compared to it. For no Force is feared, no Laws observed, no Magistrate obeyed, nor common Society esteemed, where Famine ruleth.— For, as the Poet saith, *Nescit plebs ieiuna timere*. The Store of Victuals within the City, for Want of Provision in due Time, and by reason of the Restraint of the Markets, upon a sudden was very slender and small, and the same in very short Time spent and consumed. And albeit there were good Store of Dry Fish, Rice, Prunes, Raisins, and Wine, at very reasonable Prices, yet Bread, which, as the Prophet saith, *confirmat cor hominis*, strengtheneth Man's Heart, that wanted, neither was any to be had. And in this Extremity the Bakers and Householders were driven to seek up their old Store of Puffins and Bran, wherewith they in Times past were wont to make Horse-Bread, and to feed their Swine and Poultry; and this they moulded up in Cloths, (for otherwise it would not hold together) and so did bake it up, and the People well contented therewith. For (as PLUTARCH writeth) *Fames reddit omnia dulcia; nihil contemnit esuriens*: Hunger maketh all Things sweet, and the hungry Belly shunneth nothing.

But when this also was spent, and nothing now left, and the common People being not acquainted with so hard a Diet as Famine prescribeth, were very impatient to endure the continual Barking of their hungry Bellies, and therefore they were very soon and easy to be persuaded, or rather of themselves contented, to yield unto the Enemy, to be fed for a Time with the stolen Fat of his Flesh-Pot, than to abide for a short Time a little Penury in hope of a Delivery, and then to be filled with Saturity and Plenty. But the Magistrates and grave Senators,

nators, who in all other Causes had shewed themselves wise, careful, and discreet, and who having received sundry Injuries, did yet without Rigour, Revenge, or Malice, wrap the same up, respecting rather the Common State than their own private Cause; so, in this Matter also, being of a great Importance, do very wisely and politicly deal with the said People: who, the poorer they were, the better they were considered, and the more carefully provided for. First, there was a general Collection set and rated throughout the whole City for their Relief, and thereby they were liberally every Week considered: Which Thing, being some Increase to their Stock and Store, was the better to their Content. Then all such Victuals as were to be had, within the City, they either had it freely, or for a very small Price.

The god-like and politic Dealings of the Magistrates with the Poor. The Poor are weekly liberally relieved

Besides this, many Times, when any Cattle came near unto the Walls of the City, some Shift was made to have them, or by skirmishing and issuing out for them, or by some other Means. And this also, whatsoever it was, was altogether divided among them. And as for the Prisoners fast fettered in the Goals, they had also their Portions, as far as it would stretch. Notwithstanding, in the End, for Want, they were fed with Horse Flesh, which they liked, and were well contented withal: For, as the Proverb is, *Hunger findeth no Faults; but all Things are sweet*. Besides, if any Wrong were offered, or Injury done to any of them, it was forthwith upon Complaint redressed: But if any of them did disorder themselves, it was borne withal, and they in all gentle and courteous Means intreated; as also from Time to Time persuaded with good Words patiently to abide and be contented; not mistrusting but that God shortly would send a Deliverance.

All Victuals fetched into the City were distributed among the Poor. The Prisoners in the Goal did and were driven to eat Horses.

The gentle Intreaties of the poorer Sort.

The Lord
Russell after
that the
City had
been be-
sieged five
Weeks
turneth to
this City
upon the
6th of Au-
gust and
delivereth
the same.

And thus, and by these Means, in Hope almost against Hope, they continued dutiful and obedient, from the 2d Day of *July*, 1549, until the 6th Day of *August* then following, the same being five whole Weeks, upon which Day they were delivered by the coming and entering into the City of the Lord *RUSSELL*: And which Day, in Memorial for ever to endure, is kept for a high and holy Feast amongst the Citizens, yearly, upon the 6th Day of *August*. Immediately upon which Deliverance of the City, the first Care that every Man had, was to shift and to make Provision for Victuals, whereof some hungry Bellies were so greedy, that overcharging their empty Stomachs too hastily, they died therewith.

Sir *Peter*
Carew ad-
vertiseth
the King
and Coun-
cil of the
Rebellion

Thus having declared something of the State of the City, and of the Doings therein during the Time of this Rebellion, (tho' much more might be therein said) let us now return to the Lord Privy Seal, who, after the Departure of Sir *Peter Carew* to the Court, removed from *George Henneton*, and came to *Honiton*, minding from thence to have passed unto *Excester*, if Way had been open. But being advertised that the City was besieged, and that all the Ways thitherwards were stopped, he remained still at *Honiton*. Sir *Peter Carew*, in the mean Time, according to the former Order between them taken, was ridden to *London*; and being before the King, declareth the whole Matter at large. Which the King, not liking the Disloyalty of his People, promised to seek a speedy Remedy; and so commanded him to the Council for the same; and being before them, and having at full discoursed the State of the Matter, the Duke of *Somerset*, being much grieved with the Matter, would have

The Duke
of *Somerset*
charged

have rejected the whole on Sir *Peter*, charging him, that by Reason he had caused the Houses at *Crediton* to be burned, it was the only Cause of the Commotion. But thereunto he answered the Necessity of that Service, as also declared, that he had done nothing but by a good Warrant, and therewith shewed forth the King's Letters under his Hand and Privy Signet.

Sir *Peter Carew* of the Rebel. lion.

The Lord *Rich*, then Lord Chancellor, replied and said, that the King's Letters were no sufficient Warrant, unless he had his Commission under the Broad Seal: And therefore, if he had Right, he should, by the Laws, be hanged for his Doings. But to this Sir *Peter* answered so stoutly, and charged the Duke so deeply, that, in the End, he was willed to return into the Country, being promised that a sufficient Help, both of Men and Money, should be with Speed sent down into the Country. And to this Effect he had both the King's and the Council's Letters unto the Lord Privy Seal, and so took his Journey back again into the Country, and delivered his Letters to the said Lord *Ruffel*, who, in Hope of the Supply promised, stayed, and remained sometimes at *Mobonesotre*, but most commonly at *Honiton*, still looking for that Supply and Furniture that was promised. But having long looked for the same in vain, he was daily more and more forsaken of such of the Common People, as who at the first served and offered their Service unto him. And having but a very small Guard about him, he lived in more Fear than he was feared; for the Rebels daily increased, and his Company decreased and shrunk away, and he not altogether assured of them which remained behind.

The King's Letters under his Privy Signet counted to be no sufficient Warrant. The stout Answer of Sir *Peter Carew*.

Sir *Peter Carew* being promised of Help returneth home.

The Lord *Ruffel* is almost left forsaken.

Wherefore

The Lord
Ruffel, di-
strusting
himself, is
upon his
Departure
from out
of *Devon*;
but by Sir
Peter Ca-
rew is re-
covered
back a-
gain.

Wherefore distrusting himself, and by a false Rumour being advertised that the City was taken, and in the Possession of the Rebels, as also how that there was a new Stir or Rebellion begun about *Salisbury*; he took Advice and Counsel of the Gentlemen, and such as were with him, what were best to be done. The Gentlemen of *Dorsetshire* were of the Mind, and gave him Advice, that it were best for him to return into *Dorsetshire*, and there to remain for a Time, because it was a Place of more Safety, until such Time as he were better provided. And accordingly the next Day following he took his Journey, and rode back again with the said *Dorsetshire* Gentlemen. Sir *Peter Carew* then being at *Mokonsjotre*, and advertised hereof, took his Horse and came against the said Lord *Ruffel*, and met him upon *Black-downe*, where was a long Conference between them both: And, in the End, he so perswaded the Lord, and with such pithy Reasons he carried him, that, leaving his former Determination, he doth return again unto *Honiton*; and where he continued thenceforth, saving one Night spent at *Ottery St. Mary*, where, as it fell out, he was in more Fear than Peril. At his being in *Honiton*, and daily waiting and looking for the promised Help and Supply, which came not, he was in an Agony, and of a heavy Cheer; not only for the Want of the Men and Money, which he had long in vain looked for, but also because he had spent all that he had brought with him, and could not tell how otherwise to help and provide to supply his present Need. But, as it fell out, all happened for the best.

TheMer-
chants of
Exon pro-
cure & bor-

For it chanced, that there were then three Merchants of the City following and attending upon him; *Thomas Prestwood*, not long before Maior of the City, *John Bodlie*,

The City of EXCESTER.

71

Bodlie, and *John Periam*, Men of great Wealth. These Men, understanding of the Heaviness and Grief of his Lordship, make their Resort unto him, and promised to help and relieve his Agony and Want: And forthwith did procure, upon their Credit, from the Merchants of *Bristol*, *Lyme*, *Taunton*, and elsewhere, such a Mass of Money, as which, when he had received, his Grief was eased. For forthwith he so provided and furnished himself with such Necessaries, and with a greater Number of Men, that he was now in the better Safety, as also the better able to encounter with the Enemy; and it was not long after but that he had a further Supply from the King even to his Content. And being now somewhat revived, News was brought unto him, that the Rebels, understanding of his distressed State, were coming, and marching, towards *Honiton*, to assail him, and were come as far as *Fenington* Bridge, which is about six Miles. Whereupon he took Advice with Sir *Peter Carew*, Sir *Gawen Carew*, and others, what were best to be done. And, in the End, after many Speeches, it was concluded, that they should march towards them, and give the Onset upon them. And accordingly, without further Delays, or much Talk, it was done out of Hand. For, upon the next Morning, being a Holiday, they set forth, and came to the Bridge aforesaid, where the Rebels were indeed; some at the Bridge, but the greatest Company in a Meadow beneath the Bridge; who, as soon as they perceived the Lord *Russel*, and the Gentlemen, with all their Troop, to be come, they make themselves ready to the Fight. But the River and the Bridge, being between them, the *Ld. Russel* useth all the Policies that he can, how to recover the Bridge; which, by bold adventuring, he did in the End; but with the

row Money to help the Lord *Russel*.

The Lord *Russel* marcheth towards *Fenington* Bridge.

Hurt

Sir Gawen
Carew is
hurt at
Fenington
Bridge.

Hurt of fundry of his Company, amongst whom Sir *Gawen Carew* was one, being hurt with an Arrow in the Arm.

The Re-
bels are
over-
thrown at
Fenington.

The Cor-
nish Rebels
give an
Onset and
are over-
thrown;
their Cap-
tain fleeth
away.

And having recovered the Bridge and the River, all the Rebels (such as were escaped) were gathered in a Meadow near adjoining in the lower Side of the Bridge; upon whom they so fiercely followed, and gave the Onset, that though, not without good Store of Blows and Bloodshed, they, in the End, gave the Enemy the Overthrow, and had the Upper-hand. And thinking that the Victory was clear with them, and that the Enemy was clean gone, the Soldiers and Serving-men gave themselves all to the Spoil: And being in the Middle of their Game, and they nothing thinking less than of any new Enemies to be coming towards, even suddenly march towards a new Crew of *Cornishmen*, to the Number of 200 or 240 Persons, under the Conduct of one ROBERT SMITH, of *St. Germans*, in *Cornwall*, Gent; and, who taking these Spoilers napping, many of them paid dearly for their Wares. The Lord *Russell* forthwith setteth all his Company in good Array, as the others did the like, and gave the Onset upon them; between whom the Fight for the Time was very sharp and cruel. For the *Cornishmen* were very lusty and fresh, and fully bent to fight out the Matter: Nevertheless, in the End, they were overthrown; and their Captain, whose Comb was cut, sheweth a fair Pair of Heels, and fled away. In these two Fights there were reported to be slain about 300 Rebels, which were very tall Men, lusty, and of great Courage; and who, in a good Cause, might have done better Service.

The

The Lord *Russell's* Company followed the Chace near three Miles, and he himself then thoroughly minded and bent to have passed through to the City. But one *Joll*, his Fool, who was then in Haste come from *Honiton*, and where he had heard, as also by the Way as he came did hear, Bells ringing in sundry Parish Churches; and, supposing the same to be Alarm, came with a foul Mouth to my Lord, and cried, that all the Country behind him were up, and coming upon him. Which his Report (considering the cruel Fights past) was credited, and thought that a new Company was in preparing to follow the former Quarrels. Whereupon they all retired, and returned again to *Honiton*; and from thence His Lordship sent his comfortable Letters secretly, by a Boy appointed and accustomed for the same, unto the Maior of his Success, as also advertising him of his Determination that he would be shortly with him, for the Deliverance of the City. Which Letters (the City being then but in a doubtful and dismayed Estate) came in very good Season; and yet in the End scarcely credited by some Men, because his Coming was not so speedy as was looked for.

Within very short Time after this Overthrow was given, the Lord *Greie* of *Wilton*, with a Crew of Horsemen, and one *Spinola*, an Italian, with 300 Shot, came to my Lord; who, being advertised of the Overthrow of the Enemy, and that there were slain about 300 Persons of them, they were in a great chafe, and much bewailed their evil Luck that they had not come sooner, to have been Partakers of that Service. My Lord being now of a very good Comfort and Courage, as well for the good Success, which he had over the Enemy, and that his

The Lord
Greie and
Spinola
come with
a Supply
to the Lord
Russel.

K

long-

The Lord
Ruffel
marcheth
towards
Excester,
for their
Delive-
rance.

The Re-
bels are
over-
thrown at
the Wind-
mill.

Miles
Coverdale,
Preacher.

long-looked Supply was come, sendeth his other Letters to the Maior, comforting him, as also, as before, promising him to be with him very shortly; willing him that he should now take but a little Patience for a little Time. And accordingly, about six Days after, on Saturday the 3d of *August*, in good Order, he set forth out of *Honiton*, and marched towards *Excester*; his Company being above a Thousand of good Fighting Men; and, leaving the direct Highway, draweth over the Downs towards *Woodbury*, and there lodged and pitched his Camp that Night, at a Windmill appertaining to one *Gregory Carie*, Gent. Which when the Rebels of *St. Mary Clift* heard of, forthwith, with all their Force and Power, came forth, and marched onwards, until they came to the 'foresaid Mill, where they offer the Fight. And, notwithstanding they were of very stout Stomachs, and also very valiantly did stand to their Tackles, yet, in the End, they were overthrown, and the most Part of them slain.

Where, after the Victory thus gotten, one *Miles Coverdale*, then the Preacher, and attending upon my Lord in this Journey, made a Sermon, and caused a General Thanksgiving to be made unto God. But, before all was ended, there began a new Alarm; and forthwith every Man to Horse and to Harness again. The Rebels, which remained in the Town of *St. Mary Clift*, hearing of the evil Success befallen to their Neighbours, and they doubting that their Turn would be next to receive the like, do spread abroad the News, and request to be aided and assisted. Whereupon, forthwith, in great Troops, resorted unto them a Number of their Companions out of every Quarter, to the Number (as it was said) of 6000 Men: And, in all Haste, they make themselves and all Things

Things in a Readiness to abide the Brunt. Upon the next Morning, being Sunday, my Lord, minding to follow on his Course, commandeth the Trumpet to sound, and every Man to make ready to march forwards. And about Nine of the Clock, in the same Morning, they came to *Clift*; where the Army is divided into three Parts, and in three several Places do appoint to make Entry into the Town. For in so many Places they had fortified the Town, and made great Rampires for their Defence.

The King's Army marcheth towards *Bishop's Clift*.

These Rampires were, after some Bickerings, recovered, and Sir *William Francis*, of *Somersetshire*, was named to be the first that gave the Adventure, and made the Entry. The Commons, being driven from the said Rampires, ran all into the Town, and there join themselves together to abide the Pulse. And, as the King's Army was in good Order marching into the Town, one of the chief Captains of these Rebels, named Sir *Thomas Pome-roie*, Knt. kept himself in a Furze Close, and perceiving the Army to be past him, and having then with him a Trumpeter and a Drumslade, commanded the Trumpet to be sounded, and the Drum to be stricken up. At which Sound the Lord Privy Seal and his Company were amazed, supposing verily that there had been an Ambush behind them, to have entrapped and enclosed them. Whereupon, they forthwith retire back in all the Haste they may: Which when they in the Town perceived, they follow after, and never stayed until they came to the Waggon, then being in the Highway; and which now, by flying and retiring of the Army, are the foremost and next to the Town. And these being laden with Munition, Armour, and Treasure, they take

Sir *William Francis* first entereth the Rampire.

The King's Army retireth.

The Rebels take the King's

Waggons,
Munition,
and Treas-
ure.

and bring into the Town, where they rifled as much as they could, saving the Pieces of the Ordnance, which, with the Shot and Powder, they bestowed in Places convenient, and employed the same against my Lord and his Company.

Sir William
Francis
slain.

Bishop's
Cliff Town
set on fire
& burnt.
The Re-
bels over-
thrown in
the Town.

The Army, having recovered the Hill, did there pause a while, and finding themselves to be deceived, march back again towards the Town: But before they came thither it was advertised unto my Lord, that the Town, and every House therein, was fortified and full of Men; and that it was not possible for any to pass that Way without great Peril and Danger, except the Town were set on fire. Whereupon Order was given, that as they passed and entered into the Town, notwithstanding it was my Lord's own, they should set the Houses on fire. Sir William Francis being in the fore-ward was foremost, and leaving the Way which he took before, took now another Way, the which Way was both deep and narrow. The Enemies being upon the Banks upon every Side of the Way, with their Stones so beat him, that they struck his Headpiece fast to his Head, and whereof he died. The Army being come into the Town, they set fire on every House as they passed by. But the Rebels conjoining themselves in the Middle of the Town, do stand at their Defence, where the Fight was very fierce and cruel; and bloody was that Day: For some were slain with the Sword, some burned in the Houses, some shifting for themselves were taken Prisoners, and many, thinking to escape over the Water, were drowned: So that there were dead that Day, one with another, about a thousand Men.

The

The Town thus being recovered, and the Overthrow given, the Lord *Greie* desireth to pass over the River, and to be in the open Field, which is a great Heath, named *Clyst Heath*; and this he could not do, but that he must pass over the Water or the Bridge, both which were somewhat dangerous, for the Water was somewhat miry and muddy, as also at that Time very deep, by reason of the flowing of the Seas, which causeth the same at every Tide to swell. Howbeit, one *John Yard*, a Gentleman, and who had dwelled thereabouts, knowing the said Water, gave the first Adventure over, and found Way near unto a Mill above the Bridge; and after him others do follow. But this was not for all the rest of the Army, who must needs pass over the Bridge, which as they could not do, by reason that the same was so overlaid with great Trees and Timber, as also there stood the Gunner with his Piece ready charged. Whereupon Proclamation was made, that whosoever would adventure and make Way over the Bridge, should have 400 Crowns for his Labour. Then one forthwith, more respecting the Gain than forecasting the Peril, gave the Adventure; but the Gunner rewarded him, for he discharged his Piece upon him, and slew him. And then, before he could again charge his Piece, one of the Company, who before was passed over the Water, came and entered the Bridge at the further End, and, coming behind him, slew him; who forthwith calleth Company unto him, and casteth aside all the Trees and Timber, and maketh the Bridge clear, and so the whole Army passed over the Bridge into the Heath.

The Lord *Greie* passeth over the River into *Clyst Heath*.

John Yard first giveth the Adventure, & findeth Way over the Water.

A Proclamation, that whosoever recovereth first the Bridge to have 400 Crowns.

The Bridge recovered.

The *Ld. Greie*, as soon as he was passed over the Water he rode forthwith to the Top of the Hill, which is in the

All the
Prisoners
before ta-
ken are
committed
to the
Sword.

the Middle of the Heath; and from thence did make a View of all the Country about him. And looking back towards *Woodbury*, he saw and espied, upon *Woodbury* Hill, a great Company assembled, and marching forward; and suspecting that they were a new Supply, appointed to follow and come upon them, he advertised the Lord *Russel* thereof. Whereupon it was concluded, that the Prisoners, whom they had before taken at the Windmill and in the Town, who were a great Number, (and which, if they were newly set upon, might be a Detriment and a Peril unto them) should be all killed: Which forthwith was done, every Man making a dispatch of his Prisoners; and then the Night approaching, there they encamped themselves for that Night.

The Rebels, which were and lay about *Excester*, were advertised out of hand of this the evil Success of their Neighbours; wherefore they, with as many as they could get, in all Haste came to *Clist* Heath: And in the lower Side thereof, next to the Highway, do intrench and fortify a Place fast by a Hedge; and secretly there, in the Night, do place their Ordnance, and make themselves in Readiness to abide the Brunt: And, as soon as the Daylight served, discharge and shoot off their Pieces unto the Army encamped about the Top of the Hill. The Lords and Captains, to end the Quarrel, do determine to give the Onset upon them, and, according to the Nature of Wars, do politickly divide themselves into three Parts, and every one hath his Place assigned, and Order appointed unto him.

The Lord *Russel*, having no Way open before him, causeth his Pioneers to make Way over the Hedges and
inclosed

inclosed Grounds; and by that Means doth at length recover upon the very Back of the Enemies: And they were so entrapped on every Side that they could not, by any Means, escape, but must yeild or fight. The one they would not, and in the other they prevailed not. For, notwithstanding, valiantly and stoutly, they stood to their Tackle, and would not give over, as long as Life and Limb lasted, yet, in the End, they were all overthrown, and few or none left alive. Great was the Slaughter, and cruel was the Fight; and such was the Valour and Stoutness of these Men, that the Lord *Greie* reported himself, that he never, in all the Wars that he had been in, did know the like.

The Rebels are overthrown upon *Cliff* Heath.

This Fight being done, and all Things set in good Order, the whole Army marched unto *Topsham*, which was about a Mile off, and lay in that Town all that Night, and carried with them in a Horse-litter the Body or Corpse of Sir *William Francis*, and from thence carried it to *Excester*, where it was buried in martial Manner very honourably in the Body of the Cathedral Church of *St. Peter's*. When the Rebels who lay about the City heard how their Neighbours had sped, and from Time to Time had the worse Side, and were still overthrown; then, as Men despairing to prevail, secretly gave over the Siege, and ran apace every Man his Way. The Gentlemen, which were kept Prisoners in the Churches, and in other Places about the City, being now at Liberty, came straight to the Walls about Midnight, and gave Knowledge thereof to the Watch; and they forthwith did the like unto the Maior. The Joy and Comfort whereof was so great, and the Desire of fresh Victuals so much pierced, that many, not abiding

Sir *William Francis* buried at *Excester*.

The Rebels forsake the City.

till

till the Day-light, gat and shifted themselves out of the Gates, but more for Victuals than for Spoil ; and yet they were glad of both. Howbeit some did not long enjoy the same ; for many, being more greedy of Meat than measurable in feeding, did so overcharge themselves in surfeiting, that they died thereof.

The Lord
Ruffel cometh to
Excester.

The next Morrow being Tuesday, and the 6th of *August*, the Lord Privy Seal, thinking it long before he came to the City, commanded the Trumpets very early to found, and every Man to make ready and to prepare away. And accordingly, all things being done, he marched towards *Excester* ; and about Eight of the Clock, being Tuesday the 6th of *August*, 1549, he came to the same, to the great Joy and Comfort of the long captivated Citizens, who were no more glad of their Delivery than was his Lordship, and all good Subjects joyful of his Victory. But, at his coming, he entered not into the City : For being advertised from the Maior that the City was altogether unfurnished of Victuals, Order was taken that no Stranger, nor one nor other, should enter into the City, but lie in the Camp for a Time. When his Lordship pitched his Tents without the Walls, in *St. John's Fields*, next to *South-ern-bay* ; and upon the City's Walls, next to the Postern of his House, was the King's Standard of the red Dragon set up. As soon as he was entered into his Tent, the Maior and all his Brethren, in most seemly and decent Order, went unto him, who most lovingly embraced them, most thankfully accepted them, and most highly commended them for their Truth, Duty, and Service, which upon his Fidelity and Honour he did promise should be well considered by the King's Majesty,

The Maior and his Brethren salute the Lord *Ruffel*, and he embraceth them.

ty, and which, in the End, was performed. For the King being advertised thereof, he did not only thankfully accept and highly commend their Services, but also rewarded and considered the same, both by Confirmation of their Charters, Enlarging of their Liberties, and Augmenting of their Revenues, in giving unto them the Manor of *Exe-Island*; which, as was said, was sometimes their ancient Inheritance, but by Power of the Earls of *Devon* by Force taken, and by Wrong and Injury kept from them.

The King
thankfully
accepteth
the Service
of the City,
and libe-
rally re-
wardeth
the same.

Immediately after his coming, Sir *William Herbert*, then Master of the King's Horse, and after Earl of *Pembroke*, came with a thousand *Welshmen*: Who, tho' they came too late to the Fray, yet soon enough to the Play. For the whole Country was then put to the Spoil, and every Soldier sought for his best Profit: A just Plague of the Lord upon the Rebels and disloyal Persons! But the City being as yet altogether destitute of Victuals, and the *Welshmen* at their first coming seeing the same, they did by their special Industry and Travels fraught and furnish the same within two Days with Corn, Cattle, and Victuals, very plentifully, to the great Relief and Comfort of the People therein, and to the Benefit of themselves. The Lord Privy Seal remained and continued in this City about twelve Days before he removed; setting all Things in good Order, rewarding the Good and punishing the Evil. To Sir *Peter Carew* he gave all *Wineflade's* Land; to Sir *Gawen Carew*, *Humphry Arundell's* Lands; to *William Gibbs*, Esq; *Berry's* Lands; and to many others, which had done good Services, he gave Prisoners, both Bodies, Goods, and Lands.

The
Welshmen
came too
late to the
Fight, but
soon e-
nough to
the Spoil.

The Lord
Privy Seal
tarryeth
at *Exon*,
rewardeth
the Good,
and punish-
eth the E-
vil.

Sir *Peter*
Carew, Sir
Gawen Ca-
rew, *Wil-*
liam Gibbs,
rewarded
with Trai-
tors Lands

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On the other Side, he commanded Forches and Gallows to be set up in sundry Places, as well within the City, as also in the Country; and did command and cause many to be executed and put to death, especially such as were noted to be chief and busy Doers and Ringleaders in this Rebellion.

Among them all there was no one so exalted as was *Welsh*, the Vicar of *St. Thomas*, near the *Exe-Bridge* at *Excester*, who was preferred and presented to that Benefice by the Lord *Ruffel*, Patron thereof. This Man had many good Things in him; he was of no great Stature, but well set and mightily compact. He was a very good Wrestler; shot well both in the Long Bow as also in the Cross Bow; he handled his Hand-gun and Piece very well; he was a very good Woodman and a hardy, and such a one as would not give his Head for the polling, nor his Beard for the washing; he was a Companion in any Exercises of Activity, and of a courteous and gentle Behaviour; he descended of a good honest Parentage, being born at *Penuerin* in *Cornwall*; and yet in this Rebellion an Arch-Captain and a principal Doer. He was charged with three principal Crimes. The first was, that he did not only persuade the People to the contemning of the Reform'd Religion, according to the King's Proceedings, and to keep and observe the Popish and Romish Religion; but also did erect, keep, and use the same in his Parish Church. Secondarily, He was a Captain and a principal Dealer in the Cause of the Rebellion, which was chiefly directed by him, his Order, and Advice. Thirdly, He caused one *Kingwell*, a Tinner, of *Chagford*, and Servant to Mr. *John Charels*, of *Tavistoke*, to be hanged, because

Three
Things
laid to the
Charge of
the Vicar
of *St. Thomas*.

The Re-
bels hang
Kingwell.

because secretly he had conveyed Letters between my Lord and his Master, and was earnest in the Reform'd Religion, which was then term'd the King's Proceedings, and an Enemy to the Popish State. And being a sharp Inveigher against the one, and an earnest Maintainer of the other, it procured unto him great Hatred and Malice. When the Rebellion was begun he sought by all the Means he could how to escape away; but he was so narrowly watched, that he could never have any Opportunity so to do.

They used all the Devices they could to recover him to their Opinions, sometimes with fair Words, sometimes with Threatenings, and sometimes with Imprisonments: But still he inveighed against them, calling them Rebels and Traitors both against God and the King; and fore-possessed unto them that Destruction and Confusion would be the End and Reward of their Doings. Thus when they could not reclaim him to their Disposition, then, by the Order and Judgment of this Vicar, *Welsh*, he was fetched out of the Prison, and forthwith brought forth before *Caiphas* and *Pilate*, and condemned to be hanged; which was executed upon him forthwith, and he brought to an Elm Tree in *Grilond*, without the West Gate of the City, before the House of one *Nicholas Cave*, and there hanged. The like Cruelty, or rather Tyranny, was done at *Sampford Courtneie*, where when a certain *Franeklin*, a Gentleman, named *William Hellions*, who coming to *Sampford* to have some Communication with them for the Stay of their Rebellion, and for the pacifying of them in their due Obedience, was at the Town's End taken Prisoner, and carried to the Church-House, where he so earnestly reprov'd them

for their Rebellion, and so sharply threatened them an evil Success, that they all fell in a Rage with him, and not only with evil Words reviled him, but also as he was going out of the Church-House, and going down the Stairs, one of them, named *Githbridge*, with a Bill strake him in the Neck, and immediately, notwithstanding his pitiful Requests and Lamentations, a Number of the rest fell upon him, slew him, and cut him into small Pieces. And though they counted him for an Heretick, yet they buried him in the Church-Yard there, but contrary to the common Manner, laying his Body North and South.

These Things being called to Remembrance, and objected against this Vicar; altho' some Men, in respect of his Virtues and good Gifts, did pity and lament his Case, and would have gladly been Suitors for his Pardon; yet, the Greatness of his Lewdness and Follies considered, they left him unto his Deserts; and so was, by Order of the Martial Law, condemned to death. And yet this one Thing, by the Way, I must speak in his Commendation: There was among the Rebels a Stranger and Alien, who was a very skilfull Gunner, and could handle his Piece very well, and did much Harm unto the City, and among others slew one *Smith*, standing at a Door in *Northgate-street*, with a great Shot from *St. David's Hill*. This Fellow took upon him, that he would set the whole City on fire; and it should be clean burned within four Hours, do they what they could. This his Offer was so well liked, that the Day and Time was appointed when this should be done.

The Rebels appoint to set fire on the City, and to burn it.

The Vicar of *St. Thomas* letteth and will not consent to the burning of the City.

The Vicar of *St. Thomas*, hearing thereof, assembled unto him as many Men as he could make and have, and came

came to this Company when this Fire should be kindled; and was so hot and earnest against their Attempts, that he would in no wise suffer so lewd an Act and wicked a Thing to be done. For (saith he) do what you can by Policy, Force, or Dint of Sword, to take the City, I will join with you, and do my best: But to burn a City, which shall be hurtful to all Men and good to no Man, I will never consent thereunto, but will here stand with all my Power against you. And so stout he was in this Matter, that he stopped them from their enterprizing of so wicked a Fact. But to the Matter. The Execution of this Man was committed to *Barnard Duffeld*, who, being nothing slack to follow his Commission, caused a Pair of Gallows to be made, and to be set up upon the Top of the Tower of the Vicar's Parish Church of *St. Thomas*: And, all Things being ready, and the Stage perfected for this Tragedy, the Vicar was brought to the Place, and, by a Rope about his Middle, drawn up to the Top of the Tower, and there in Chains hanged in his Popish Apparel, and had a Holy-Water Bucket and Sprinkle, a Sacring Bell, a Pair of Beads, and such other like Popish Trash, hanged about him; and there he with the same about him remained a long Time. He made a very small or no Confession, but very patiently took his Death. He had been a good Member in his Commonwealth, had not the Weeds overgrown the good Corn, and his foul Vices overcome his Virtues.

The Vicar is hanged in Chains upon the Top of the Tower, with his Popish Trash and Ornament about him.

The Lord Privy Seal, remaining still in *Excester*, was continually occupied in setting Things in Order: He was very severe and sharp against such Offenders as were chief and principal Ringleaders of this Rebellion; but
to

The Re-
bels assem-
bled at
Sampford
Courtneie.

to the common Sort, who were led and carried, and who did humble themselves, he was pitiful and merciful, and did daily pardon infinite Numbers. And His Lordship thinking verily that all Things were now quieted, and the Rebels pacified, suddenly News was brought unto him, that there assembled at *Sampford Courtneie* both *Devonshiremen* and *Cornishmen*, and who were fully bent to maintain their Quarrel, and abide the Battle. These News so troubled and tickled my Lord, that, all Business set apart, he commandeth forthwith the Trumpet to be sounded, and the Drum to be stricken up, and all his Army to be forthwith mustered; which was then the greater, by reason of the *Welchmen*, and the Gentlemen of the Country, and of the Commoners who, upon Submission, had obtained Pardon, and increased to the Number of eight or ten thousand Men; and forthwith he marched towards *Sampford Courtneie*, where Sir *William Herbert* requested to have the Fore-ward for that Day, which was granted him.

The Re-
bels over-
thrown at
Sampford
Courtneie.

And being come thither, albeit the great Company of so many good Soldiers, and well appointed, might have dismayed them, being nothing, nor in Order, nor in Company, nor in Experience, to be compared with the others; yet as they were at a Point, they would yield to no Persuasions, nor did, but most manfully did abide the Fight, and never gave over until that, both in the Town and in the Field, they were all, or the most, taken or slain. At which Time one *ap Owen*, a Welsh Gentleman, more boldly than advisedly, giving the Adventure to enter the Rampire, at the Town's End, was there slain by the Rebels, and after carried back to *Exon*, where, after the
Manner

Manner of Wars, he was honourably buried in the Body of *St. Peter's Church*: Few of the King's Side beside him then slain. And so of a traiterous Beginning they made a shameful Ending. Nevertheless, many escaped, and they fled towards *Somersetshire*; after whom was sent Sir *Peter Carew* and Sir *Hugh Paulet*, then Knight Marshal, with a great Company attending upon them, and followed them as far as *King Weston*, in the County of *Somerset*, where they overtook them, and overthrew them, and also took one *Coffin*, a Gentleman, their Captain, Prisoner, and brought him unto *Excester*.

Sir *Peter Carew* pursueth the Rebels which fled to *King Weston*.

The Lord *Russel* himself, minding to make all Things sure, taketh his Journey, and marcheth into *Cornwall*; and, following his former Course, causeth Execution to be done upon a great many, especially upon the chief Bellwethers and Ringleaders: But the chief and principal Captains he kept as Prisoners, and brought them with him to *Excester*, and remained there for a Time; but after departed towards *London*, where he was received with great Joy and Thanks: And, being come before the King, he forgot not to commend unto His Majesty the good Service of this City in this Rebellion, which (as is before said) was liberally rewarded and considered. After his Departure, and according to his Order and Appointment, the chief Captains and principal Heads of this Rebellion, whom he left in Prison in the King's Goal at *Excester*, were carried to *London* and commanded to the Tower, and, in their due Time, were afterwards executed to death, namely, *Humphry Arundell*, Esq; *Wineslade*, Esq; *John Berrie* and *Coffin*, Gents. and *Holmes*, Yeoman; which *Coffin* and *Holmes* were
Servants

The Lord Privy Seal taketh his Journey into *Cornwall*.

The Lord Privy Seal taketh his Journey towards *London*, and is honourably received.

The chief Captains of the Rebels are carried to *London*, and there put to Death.

Servants to Sir *John Arundell*, Knt. Of the Number of them who were slain there is no Certainty known, but many more be found lack than numbered: Howbeit it was accounted by such as continued in the whole Service of this Commotion to be about four thousand Men. But what Number was of the contrary Side dispatched, nothing is reported; albeit it be well known that they escaped not scot free, and especially the *Burgonians*, who were abhorred of the one Party, and nothing favoured of the other.

Thus much concerning the Description of the City, and of the fundry Invasions and Assaults against the same, and especially of the last Rebellion or Commotion in the Year of our Lord 1549, wherein much more might be spoken, but this may suffice for this Matter. And for as much as the Cathedral Church of this City, called by the Name of *St. Peter's*, is a Parcel of the City, and compassed within the Walls of the same, though in respect of certain Privileges distinct from the Jurisdiction thereof; I thought it good to subnect hereunto the Description of the said Church, and of the Antiquity of the same.



A
C A T A L O G U E
O F T H E
Bishops of *Excester*;

W I T H
The Description of the Antiquity and First
Foundation of the

CATHEDRAL CHURCH
of the same.

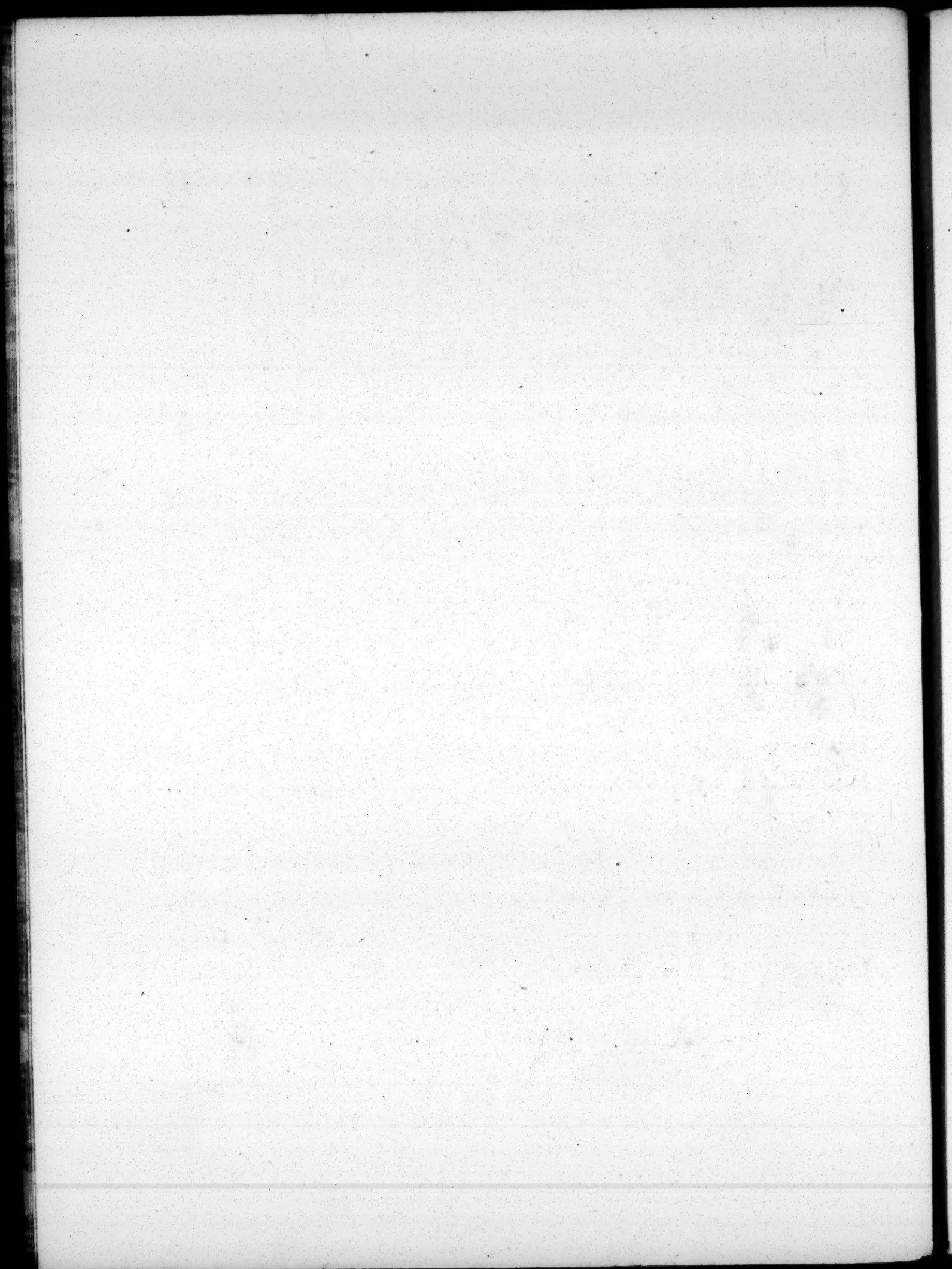
Collected by JOHN VOWELL, alias HOKER, Gent.

EZEC. iii. ACT. xx.

*I have made thee Watchman over the House of Israel, to give them
warning from me. Take heed, therefore, to yourselves, and to
the Flock whereof the Holy Ghost hath made You Overseers.*

Originally printed in the Year 1584.

M



T O

The Right Honourable and Reverend Father in God

J O H N,

By the Sufferance of GOD, Bishop of *Excester*;

A N D T O

The Right Worshipful and Reverend

The Dean and Chapter of the same;

J O H N V O W E L L, alias *H O K E R,*

Wishes Grace, Mercy, and Peace.



ABOUT a few Years past, Right Honourable, Reverend, and Worshipful, I was requested to give out the Description of the City of Excester, some one (then living) pretending and minding, after the Order of Ministers, to set forth a general Description of the Whole Realm of England, and also a Topographical and a particular Discourse of every Province, City, and Town, in the same. This Request, tending to so good an End, liked me so well, that, albeit I were and am very unfit,

fit, and of small Knowledge, to wade into such a Matter ; yet, when I saw no Man would take it in hand, I was contented to yield thereunto. And finding no such Thing before done, my Pains were the greater, and I driven to make the more diligent Search and Inquiry for such old and ancient Precedents, Records, and Writings, as might be found and had for my best Furtherance herein. In which my Travels, it was my Hap, among other Things, to have the Sight of a certain Table within your Cathedral Church, which chiefly contained a certain Catalogue of a few Bishops thereof. I did not so much rejoice at the Sight thereof at the first ; but when I had thoroughly perused and considered of the same, I was sorry that no one Man, in the Course of many Years, had continued it. At length, considering with myself that there is such a Sympathy and Affinity between this City and the Church, both which are inclosed and environ'd within one Wall, and be, as it were, one Body, though in certain Privileges distinguish'd ; and that in the Search for the one I might the better do the like in the other, I did resolve myself to bestow my Travels in both alike : And yet greatly was I herein discouraged ; for being an earnest Suitor to some of your own Company for some Help out of your antient Records, I had small Furtherance, some being more suspicious than needed ;
some

some (if I may speak it, under your Patience) not unlike *Æsop's Dog*, who would neither eat Hay himself, nor yet suffer the Ox to do it; by means whereof I was driven to pick out elsewhere what I could, which I do persuade myself to be so much the more imperfect. Well, what I have done for the City I have presented to the Maier and Magistrates of the same; and what I have done concerning your Church I do here most humbly offer unto you, the Effect whereof is, The Antiquity and First Foundation of your Cathedral Church, when and by whom the same was done, and then the Catalogue of all the Bishops, that I can find, which have been of this Province, as well before as since the See was establish'd in this Church and City. And forasmuch as the Bishops were always accounted to be the Fathers of God's People, for the Direction of them in all Holiness, Virtue, and Religion, I will, by way of a little Introduction, set down the Beginning of Christian Religion within this Realm, and of the first placing and appointing of Bishops over this Province and Country of Devon and Cornwall.--- It is recorded in sundry Histories, that, immediately upon the Death of Christ, the Gospel was preached in this Land of England. Some write, that *SIMON ZE-LOTES*, one of the Apostles, was here, and preached: Some write that *S. PAUL* was here, and did the like.

Some

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Some

Some say that JOSEPH of ARIMATHIA did come into this Land when King ARVIRAGUS reigned, and did both preach and baptize the King and his People. Some say that it was some one of the Apostles; but they name him not. But whosoever was the Preacher, true it is that Christ was preached, and the Gospel received, even with the first. Notwithstanding, the Seed was cast among the Thorns and Highways, and brought forth no Fruit; but as a Candle under the Bushel, and as Fire raked up in the Embers, it seemed to be hidden and buried until the Time of King LUCIUS, the Son of King COYLEO, who, about the Year of the Lord 187, was, by the Goodness of God, called to the Knowledge of the Gospel: And he forthwith expelled all the Archflamines and Flamines, and constituted in their Places Archbishops and Bishops; which were in Number three of the one and twenty-eight of the other. And at this Time the Provinces of Devon and Cornwall were under the Archbishop of London; for of any other particular Bishop there is no mention made. And, notwithstanding the Gospel had its free Passage for the Time, yet Clouds covered the Sun, and through Persecutions the Godly were put to silence, and the true Religion seemed to be extinguished, for almost about four hundred Years, until the Time of King ULPHUS, then King of Westsex, or West Saxony,

West Saxony, who, about the Year of our Lord 636, was converted unto Christian Religion, by the good and goldy Man BIRINUS; and the See for Westsex was appointed to be at Dorchester; and then under the same were the Provinces of Devon and Cornwall about twenty Years, until the Time of KINWATCHUS, who builded the Church of Winchester, about the Year 654; and he removed the See from Dorchester unto Winchester; and thenceforth was all Devon and Cornwall under the Bishop of Winchester, for and about fifty Years, until the Time of King IEWE. In whose Time, about the Year of our Lord 705, there was a Synod, or a Provincial Council, holden under BRITHEWALDUS Archbishop of Canterbury, in which it was ordained that the Bishoprick of Winchester should be divided into two Bishopricks or Dioceses, that is, Winchester and Sherborne; and then under the Bishop of Sherborne, and in his Diocese, was Devon and Cornwall; and so thenceforth did this Constitution hold and continue, about two hundred Years, until the Time of King EDWARD the Elder, the Son of King ALPHRED, who, making a Progress throughout his Kingdom of Westsex, came to this City of Excester, and found both it and the whole Country clean destituted of Bishop or Preacher, and so had been for several Years; whereupon, by the Advice of PLEYMUNDUS Archbi-
shop

shop of Canterbury, a Synod, or a Provincial Council, was kept in Westsex: And therein it was ordained and concluded, that in every particular Province, or Shire, within Westsex, there should be a particular Bishop: And then one Bishop was appointed for Devonshire, and another for Cornwall. WERSTANUS was consecrated Bishop of Devon, and his See was then at Tawton, now named Bishops Tawton, and from thence shortly after removed to Kirton, and after many Years from thence to Excester. HERSTANUS was consecrated Bishop of Cornwall, and his See was first at S. PETROKES in Bodmin, and after removed unto S. GERMINES, and at length was united unto Crediton, and in the End both were removed to Excester. And forasmuch as I have not yet found any-thing of the Bishops of Cornwall worthy Memory, I will deal and set down only the Catalogue of the Bishops of Devon and of Excester, and what I find done by them, or in their Time, worthy the Observation. I know that, for want of Knowledge in me, there be many Imperfections herein. But, among so many wise, godly, and learned Men, as you are, I hope that some one good Man or other, and having access unto your Evidences and Records, will either reform what they find amiss, or impart it unto me, that I may so do it, when Time and Opportunity
may

may serve thereunto. And thus much concerning the first receiving of the True and Christian Religion, and appointing of Bishops in this Province of Devon. And forasmuch as this Pamphlet, done and written a few Years past, came upon some Occasion to my Hands, to be revived * at this present Time, being the End of the Year past, and the Beginning of the new now come, in which it hath been an old Usage and Custom among good Friends, and especially of the Younger to their Elders, and of the Inferior to their Superiors, to offer some small Present, each one to the other, congratulating thereby the good Success of the Year past, and wishing the like to come, and considering also that you which do labour in the Word and in Doctrine do daily beget us, through the Gospel, in Christ Iesus, and are his Ministers to our Salvation, and therefore the more worthy of double Honour; and forasmuch as I myself am (his Name be praised) by these Means made Partaker of his heavenly Blessings, and daily confirmed, do think myself most bounden to be thankful and grateful unto you all herein. Wherefore these my Travels, so much as concern your Church, I thought it good, by way of a Strene, to offer and present unto you, praying you, that, though it be somewhat imperfect, yet such as it is you will accept
N and

* *An Error of
the Press for
reviewed.*

and take in good part, not respecting the Slenderneſs of the Thing offered, but the Goodwill and Benevolence of the Offerer. And herewith alſo I am to pray you to call to your remembrance, that, as the old Year is paſt, and the new is come, ſo that every one do caſt away the Old Man, which is corrupt, and put on the New Man, which after God is created in Righteouſneſs and Holineſs, and that you be renewed in Knowledge after the Image of God, which created us, and to caſt away the Works of Darkneſs, and put on the Armour of Light, walking honeſtly as in the Day-time, not biting and devouring one another, leſt we be conſumed one with another: but walk in Love, and Peace, Longſuffering, Gentleneſs, Goodneſs, Faith, Meekneſs, and Temperance, which are the Fruits of the Spirit, crucifying the Fleſh and the Affections and Luſts thereof; and thus having purged away the old Leaven, and being freed from Sin, and made the Servants of God, and prepared to good Works through Chriſt, you may have your Fruits in Holineſs, and in the End to enter into the Joy of our Lord, and Life everlaſting. And thus commending you unto the Eternal and Everlaſting GOD in Chriſt Ieſus, I do moſt dutifully take my Leave.

Yours in the Lord Ieſus,

JOHN HOKER.

Exon, the laſt of the old
Year, and the Beginning
of the new, 1583.

T H E
Antiquity, Foundation, and Building,
O F T H E
Cathedral Church of *S. Peters*,
I N T H E
City of *E X C E S T E R*.



AFTER that false and superstitious Religion was crept and received into the Church of God, and the People grown very devout therein, they began the erecting and building of Religious Houses and Monasteries in every Place, which, (after the Manner of the most Part of Christendom) as it was done universally within this Realm, so also there wanted not the like in this City, after the Rate and Portion thereof. For this Humour being now enter'd, and the People nussed therein, so prone and forward was each Man to continue the Thing begun and received, that the more busy, forward, and liberal, he was therein, the better Man he was reported, and taken to be. There were, therefore, in this City, from Time to Time, as Opportunity served, divers Religious Houses, and Monasteries, founded and erected: Whereof appeareth that three were within the Site, Circuit, and Place which is now called the Close of *S. Peters*; and which, in Time, accrued and were united into one. The first was a House of Women, called *Moniales* or Nuns, which is now the Calenderhay and the Dean's House of the Cathedral Church. The other was of Monks, and supposed to be builded, about the Year of the Lord 868, by King *Etheldred*, the Third Son

The Building of the

of *Ethelwolphus* : and these two were by Bishop *Leophricus* added and united to the Cathedral Church. The third was a House of *Monks* of the Order of *S. Benet*, and founded by King *Athelstane* Anno 932 : And this is that Part of the Cathedral Church now called the *Lady Chapel*. For the said King, having driven out of this City the *Britaines* (who then dwelled therein) and minding to make a full Conquest of them, and of such as then inhabited in *Devon* or in *Cornwall*, followed and pursued them, whom in the End he conquer'd ; and, having exploited his Wit, and gotten the Victory, returned to this City, and here staying and sojourning for a Time, did re-edify the City, as also, yielding himself thankful to God for his good Success, builded the said Monastery for *Monks* ; for thus it is written of him, — *Hanc urbem primus Rex Athelstanus in potestatem Anglorum effugatis Brytonibus redactam, turribus muniivit, & muro ex quadratis lapidibus cinxit : ac antiquitus vocatum Munke-ton, nunc Exeter vocari voluit : ac ibi sedens mansum quoddam dedit ad fundandum monasterium pro monachis Deo & sancto Petro famulantibus.*— And besides the great Charges he was at in the Building, he gave also sufficient Lands and Revenues for their living, whereof *Morkshut* and *Tresaurers Bear* be yet remaining, and are appertaining to the Treasurer of the said Church. But, after the Time of *K. Athelstane*, the *Danes* with great Hostility and Cruelty having over-run this Land, this City and Church was much infested and troubled, for with no less Cruelty did the *Danes* pursue the *Englishmen* and *Saxons* than did the *Saxons* before pursue the *Britaines*. And then the *Monks*, not able to endure the same, fled and forsook their House, seeking Places of Refuge and better Safety : And so was this Monastery left destitute and forsaken for several Years, until the Time of *K. Edgar* ; for he, making a Progress into those West Parts, to visit his Father-in-law *Ordogarus* (whose Daughter he had married) then Earl of *Devon*, and Founder of the Abbey of *Tavestocke*,

Roche, came to this City, *Anno* 986 ; and he, pitying the distressed State of the said Church, caused the *Monks* to be sought out, and to be assembled together ; whom he then restored to their House and Livelihoods, and appointed *Sydemannus* (who afterwards was Bishop) to be their Abbat.

And thenceforth they continued together (although in great Troubles) until the Time of K. *Swanus* the *Dane* ; for he, with a great Troop and Army of his *Danes*, came to this City *Anno* 1019, who besieged it, and, at length, having taken the same, he spoiled, destroyed, and burnt, both the City and Monastery. But yet, shortly after, it was again restored ; for K. *Cabutus*, or *Canutus*, being advertised of the great Cruelties done by his Father *Swanus*, did, at the Request of one of his Dukes, named *Athelredus*, make Restitution unto *Athelwoldus*, then Abbat, both of Lands, Livings, and Privileges, as appeareth by his * Chapter dated *Anno* 1019.

* *An Error of the Press for Charter.*

After this, near about 30 Years, K. *Edward* the Confessor came to the City ; and he, by the Advice and Counsel of *Leophricus*, then Bishop of *Crediton*, and sometimes Lord Chancellor of *England*, and of the Privy-Council with the said King, partly for the better Safety of the Bishop, and his Successors, and partly to provide a more apt Place for the Monks, did remove the Bishops See from *Crediton* to this City, and sent the Monks to *Westmonaster* ; and did, himself, in his own Person, together with Queen *Edeth* his Wife, place and install Bishop *Leophricus* in Possession of his new Church and See. The Bishop, then removed from the old and placed in the new, endoweth his new See and Church with the Lands and Livelihoods of his former Church ; and, to make his Sanctuary to his Mind, pulleth down the two Monastries near adjoining, the one of Nuns the other of Monks, and addeth them to his own Church : And then

then, having thus brought his Devise to Effect, maketh Ordinances, Laws, and Orders, for the good Government of his Church and Clergy.

After *Leophricus's* Death, his Successors, following his Example, did, every of them, for the most Part, procure the Augmentation and Increase of their Church, some in Livelihoods, some in Liberties and Privileges, and some in Buildings, and some in one Thing or other.

William Warewest, the third Bishop after the Conquest, being sometimes Chaplain to the Conqueror, and to *William* and *Henry* his Sons, obtained of the Conqueror such Grace and Favour, that he gave to this Church *Plimton*, *Brampton*, and *S. Steven's* in *Excester*; which his Gift his 'foresaid two Sons by their Charter did also confirm. And then the said Bishop, having the Ordering and Distribution thereof, giveth *Plimton* to the Regular Canons, for whom he had erected a Monastery there, and where he himself, shortly after, leaving his Bishoprick, became a Canon. *Brampton* was reserved to the Cathedral Church, and afterwards was annexed to the Deanry: But *S. Steven's*, with the Fee to the same, he reserved to himself, and to his Successors, whereby they are Barons and Lords in the Parliament.

Anno 1112 the said Bishop *Warewest* began to enlarge his Cathedral Church, which at that Time was no bigger than that Part which is now the Lady Chappel, and laid the Foundation of that which is now the Choir or Quier.

Anno 1235, or thereabout, *William Brewer*, Bishop, established and made a Dean and Chapter of xxiiii. Prebendaries. For the Dean (whom he then appointed, and whose Name was *Serlo*,) and for his Successors, he appointed and gave *Brampton* and *Coli-*
ton

ton Rawleigh. For the Prebendaries he purchased Lands, allotting to every of them the like Portion of four Pound by the Year.]

Anno 1284, *Peter Quivill* Bishop, finding the Chancel of his Church to be builded and finish'd to his Hands, beginneth and foundeth the lower Part or Body of his Church, from the Quier westwards: He also appointed a Chanter and Subdean in the Church. To the one he impropriated *Painton* and *Cbudleigh*, and to the other the Parsonage of *Eglosbale* in *Cornwall*. He also impropriated the Parsonage of *S. Newlin* in *Cornwall*, and of *Stokegabrill* in *Devon*, to the Chancellor of the Church, for reading of a Divinity Lecture in his Cathedral Church.

Anno 1340, *John Grandisson*, Bishop, did increase the Length of his Church from the * Foot westwards: He vaulted the Roof of the whole Church, and fully ended and absolved the same. And albeit, from the Time of K. *Athelstane*, the first Founder, *Anno* 932, until the Death of this *Grandisson*, which was *Anno* 1369, there were 437 Years distant, and in the mean Time this Church builded by fundry and diverse Men, yet so uniformly the same is compact as though it were builded at one Instant.

* *An Error of
the Press for
Font.*

Anno 1456, *George Nevill*, then Bishop of this Church, but shortly after Archbishop of *York*, began to build the Chapter-house, which was ended, finished, and absolved, by his next Successor, Bishop *Edmond Lacie*: But the Cloister and Library was builded by the Dean and Chapter.

And thus much concerning the first Foundation and Building of this Church, and full Ending of the same: — And now to the Catalogue of the Bishops, and of so many as I can find, who have been particular Bishops in this Province of *Devon*, since the Time of *Edward* the Elder, the Son of K. *Alfred*.

A
C A T A L O G U E
O F T H E
B I S H O P S of *EXCESTER*.

I.

WERSTANUS, at a Provincial Synod holden in *Westsex*, Anno 905, was consecrated Bishop of *Devon*, and had his See at *Bishop's Tawton*; and in the Year following, 906, he died, and was buried in his own Church.

II.

PUTTA, after the Death of *Werstanus*, was elected and consecrated Bishop, and had his See at *Tawton*, and taking his Journey towards *Crediton*, to see and visit the King, (or as some say *Uffa* the King's Lieutenant,) was by the said *Uffa's* Men slain: And then, upon his Death, the See was removed to *Crediton*.

III.

EADULPHUS, Brother to *Alpsius* Duke of *Devon* and *Cornwall*, and Founder of *Launceston*, was consecrated Bishop of *Devon*, but installed at *Crediton*, where he had his See, and continued Bishop 22 Years, and then, dying, about the Year 932, he was buried in his own Church.

IV.

ETHELGARUS, Anno 932, succeeded *Eadulphus*; and in his Time King *Athelstane* subdued the *Cornish* People, re-edify'd this City, and encompassed the same with a Stone Wall. He founded the Monastery of *S. Peter's* for Monks of *S. Benet's* Order. This *Ethelgarus*, after he had been Bishop ten Years, died, and was buried in his own Church.

V. *ALGARUS*,

V.

ALGARUS, *Anno* 942, after *Ethelgarus*, was constituted and installed Bishop at *Crediton*, and having been Bishop about ten Years, died, and was buried in his own Church.

VI.

ALFWOLDUS, as *Matthew of Westminster* writeth, was next Bishop after *Algarus*, and consecrated by the Advice of *Dunstane*, *Anno* 952. In his Time *Odogarus* Earl of *Devon*, and Father-in-law to King *Edgar*, builded the Abbey of *Tavestoke*; and King *Edgar* calleth home all the Monks of *S. Peter's* which were disperfed, and without any Abbat, and made *Sydemannus* Abbat, who was afterwards Bishop. *Alfwoldus*, after sixteen Years that he was consecrated, died, and was buried in his own Church.

VII.

ALWOLFUS, as *Dicetus* affirmeth, was consecrated Bishop *Anno* 969, and after nine Years died, and was buried in his own Church.

VIII.

SYDEMANNUS of an Abbat was made a Bishop, *Anno* 978. In this Man's Time the *Danes* overcame and spoiled the whole Countries of *Devon* and *Cornwall*, burn'd the Town of *Bodmin* and the Cathedral Church of *S. Petroke's*, with the Bishop's House. Whereupon the Bishop's See was removed from thence to *S. Germans*, where the same continued until the removing and uniting thereof unto *Crediton*. *Sydemannus* in the twelfth Year after his Consecration died, and was buried, at *Crediton*, in his own Church, 990.

IX. **ALPHREDUS**,

O

IX.

ALPHREDUS, whom *Dicetus* calleth *Alfricus*, Abbat of *Malmesbury*, was consecrated Bishop, and installed at *Crediton*. He was taken for a Learned Man, because he wrote two Books, the one intituled *De rebus cœnobii sui*, and the other *De rerum naturis*. In this Bishop's Time King *Etheldred* endowed the Bishopric *S. Germanes* with Lands, Liberties, and Privileges. The *Danes* made a fresh Invasion in and upon all *Devon* and *Cornwall*, burn'd and spoiled the Abbey of *Ordolphus* in *Tavestoke*: They besieged *Excester*, and, being removed from thence, were fought withal at *Pinebo*, about three Miles from the City, and overthrown. *Alpbredus*, after he had been Bishop about nine Years, died *Anno* 999, and was buried in his own Church.

X.

ALWOLFUS, as *Dicetus* writeth, was the next Bishop. In his Time *Sveno* King of *Denmark*, by Inticement of one *Hew*, --[or *Hugh*]-- then Earl of *Devon*, came with a great Host, and besieged the City of *Excester*, took it, and burn'd it, and with great Cruelty used the People, until, in the End, *Almarus*, then Earl of *Devon*, and the Gentlemen, did yield and submit themselves, and so obtained Peace. This *Alwolfus*, about the fifteenth Year of his Bishopric, *Anno* 1014, died, and was buried in his own Church.

XI.

ALNOLDUS, by the Report of the Archdeacon of *London*, succeeded *Alwolfus*, and was installed at *Crediton*. In this Man's Time King *Canutus* gave to *Athelwode*, Abbat of *S. Peter's* of this City, great Gifts and sundry Privileges, in Recompence of his Father's great Injuries. *Alnoldus*, in the fifteenth Year of his Bishopric, died, and was buried in his own Church.

XII. LEVIGUS,

XII.

LEVIGUS, or *Levingus*, Abbat of *Tavistoke*, and Nephew to *Brythewaldus*, Bishop of *Cornwall*, was chosen the next Bishop, and, according to the Orders then used, consecrated and installed. He was in great Favour and Credit with King *Canutus*, upon whom he attended in Pilgrimage unto *Rome*. And, after his Uncle the Bishop of *S. Germanes* being dead, obtained of the King that the Bishop's See was removed from *S. Germanes* unto *Crediton*; and both were thereby reduced and united into one Bishopric, and so hath ever since continued. He was, after the Death of *Brythegus*, Bishop of *Worcester*, removed to that Church, and there died, and was buried, as some suppose. But some affirm, that, in the Time of *Hardicanutus*, the King, at the Accusation of *Alfredus*, the Archbishop of *York*, for that he should be consenting to the Death of *Alfredus* the Son of *Etheldred*, — [*ordered or commanded*] — that he should be deposed of his Bishopric there; and so did return unto *Tavistoke*, where he died: But *Dicetus* affirmeth that he purged himself of this Crime, and by that Means was restored both to the Favour of the King and to his Bishopric again, and died Bishop of *Worcester*. It is recorded that he was Bishop of *Crediton* fifteen Years.

XIII.

LEOFRICUS, a Man descended of the Blood and Line of *Brutus*, but brought up in the Land of *Lothboringia* or *Lo-reine*, was so well commended for his Nobility, Wildom, and Learning, that King *Edward* the Confessor had him in great Favour, and made him first one of his Privy Council, and then Lord * Chamberlain of all *England*. And lastly, the Bishopric of this Province being void, he was made, consecrated, and installed, Bishop

* *A Press Error for*
Chancellour.

Bishop of the same. By him, and by his Means, the Bishop's See was removed from *Crediton* to the City of *Excester*: For, at his Request, King *Edward*, together with Queen *Editb* his Wife, came to *Excester*, and, removing the Monks from hence to *Westminster*, did also remove the Bishop's See from *Crediton* to this City, and did put the Bishop in the Possession: For he, conducting the Bishop on the Right-hand, and the Queen on the Left-hand, brought him to the High-Altar of his new Church, and there placed him in a Seat appointed for him. He suppressed fundry Houses or Cels of Religion within his Sanctuary, and appropriated and united them to his own Church, as also, by the good Liberality of the King, obtained great Revenues, Possessions, Privileges, and Liberties, to be given unto the Church. In this Man's Time *William* Duke of *Normandy* made a Conquest of this whole Realm, as also, in the Year 1068, besieged this City of *Excester*; which after, by Composition, he restored to its former Estate again. Also in his Time *Richard de Brion*, a Nobleman of *Normandy*, the Son of *Balwin of Brion* and of *Albred* the Niece to the Conqueror, was made Baron of *Okehampton*, Warden of the Castle of *Excester*, and Vicount of *Devon*. This *Leofricus*, after that he had well and worthily ruled his Church and Diocese by the Space of 23 Years, ended his Days in Peace, and died *Anno* 1073, and was buried in the Cemitory, or Churchyard, of his own Church, under a simple and broken Marble Stone; which Place, by the since enlarging of his Church, is now within the South Tower of the same, where of late, *Anno* 1568, a new Monument was erected in the Memory of so good, worthy, and noble a Personage, by the Industry of the Writer hereof — [Mr. *Hoker* or *Hooker*], — but at the Charges of the Dean and Chapter.

XIV. OSBERTUS,

XIV.

OSBERTUS, or Osbernus, a Normain born, and Brother to an Earl named *William*, was preferred to this Bishopric, and, in the Year 1074, was consecrated and installed to the same. *Polydorus* writeth, that one *Galfrid*, who joined with *Odo* Earl of *Kent* and Bishop *Boion* against *William Rufus*, should be Bishop of *Exon*: But it was not, nor could not so be. In this Man's Time *William* the Conqueror, and *William Rufus* his Son, died. This *Osbertus*, or *Osbernus*, after he had been Bishop thirty Years, was blind, and died, and lyeth buried in his own Church.

XV.

WILLIAM WAREWEST, a Normain born, and Chaplain both to the Conqueror and his two Sons, *William* and *Henry*, was a very grave and wise Man, and for the same was preferred by *Henry* the King to this Bishopric, Anno 1107, and was consecrated by *Anselmus* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, in the Month of *August*, the same Year. He first began to enlarge his Church, which at that Time was no bigger than that which is now called the Lady Chappel. He founded and builded the Monastery of *Plimton*, and placed therein Regular Canons. In his latter Days he waxed and became blind, and yet notwithstanding, for his Wisdom, the King sent him in Embassage to the Pope *Paschalis* the Second, wherein he so wisely dealed, and so discreetly behaved himself in his Message, that he made a Reconciliation between the Pope and the King, and returned with great Praise and Commendation. Not long after his Return, and having small Joy of the World, he gave over his Bishopric, and became one of the Religious Canons in his own House of *Plimton*, where he died and was buried. He was Bishop about twenty Years.

XVI. ROBERT

XVI.

ROBERT CHICHESTER, Dean of *Sarisbury*, was consecrated Bishop under *Anselmus* Archbishop of *Canturbury*, Anno 1128, and the 28th Year of King *Henry* the First. He was a Gentleman born, and esteemed for his Zeal in Religion, wherein he was very devout according to those Days; and, thinking his Labours to be best imploy'd that Way, did oftsoons go in Pilgrimage; sometime to *Rome*, sometime to one Place, sometime to another; and ever he would bring with him some one Relique or other. He was a liberal Contributor to the Buildings of his Church. In his Time was founded and builded the Monastery of *S. Stevens* in *Launceston*, and furthered by *Reynold* Earl of *Cornwall*; but unto it this Bishop was an Adversary; not for misliking the Work, but for fear of an Intrusion upon his Liberties. Likewise at this Time was builded the Priory of *S. Nicholas* in *Excester*, by the Abbat of *Battel*, unto which Abbey this Priory was a Cell. In this Man's Time also King *Henry* made *William Rideverse*, a *Normain* and his Kinsman, Earl of *Devon*; and therewith the Lordship of *Twifordton*, and the Honor of *Plimpton*, together with the third Penny of his Revenues in *Devon*, which in the whole was then 30 Marks, whereof this Earl had ten. Also in this Man's Time King *Henry* died, and King *Stephen* entered and took upon him the Crown, whereof ensued great Wars. This Bishop, after that he had occupied the Place 22 Years, died and was buried in his own Church. But the Monk of *Westminster* writeth that he should be Bishop 27 Years, and died in the Year 1155: But he never saw the Records of this Church, which are to the contrary.

XVII. ROBERT

XVII.

ROBERT WAREWEST, Nephew to *William* the Bishop of this Church, Dean of *Sarisbury*, was consecrated Bishop by *Theobaldus*, Archbishop of *Canterbury*, Anno 1150. He nothing degenerated from the Steps of his Predecessors, but was altogether of the same Bent and Disposition. In his Time King *Stephen* died, and *Henry* the Second was crowned King. This *Robert*, after he had occupied this See nine Years, or thereabout, died, and was buried at *Plimpton*, by his Uncle.

XVIII.

BARTHOLOMEUS ISCANUS, otherwise *Bartholomew* of *Excester*, was consecrated Bishop of *Excester* under *Theobald* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, Anno 1159. He was called *Ischanus* of *Isca*, which is one of the ancientest Names of this City. He was a mean Citizen's Son; but, being very apt unto Learning, his Parents and Friends kept him to School, and he so well profited therein that he came, and proved to be, a very well learned Man; and being Bishop, he wrote sundry Books, as of Predestination, Freewill, Penance, and others. Of all Men he could not brook nor favour *Thomas Becket*, Archbishop of *Canterbury*, for his Contempt and Disobedience against the King; for the which he sharply reprov'd, rebuked, and inveighed against him, openly, in the Parliament House holden at *Northampton*; and, with such effectual Reasons and pithy Arguments, he did so temper the same, that the whole Parliament relied upon his Judgment and Opinion herein against *Thomas Becket*. And, after his Death, such was the Gravity, Modesty, and Wisdom of the Man, that he was specially chosen to be Ambassador for the King unto Pope *Alexander* the Third, and so wisely, and with such Discretion used the same, that, notwithstanding

standing his Cause and Message had many Adversaries, yet he reconciled the Pope, and brought his Message to good effect. This Bishop was in great Familiarity and Acquaintance with *Baldwin of Excester*, his Countryman, now Archbishop of *Canterbury*, who was a poor Man's Son in this City; but for his Learning advanced to this Estate. In this Bishop's Time, about the Year of our Lord 1168, *William Fytzralph*, a Citizen of this City, founded a Cell for Monks within this City, and dedicated the same to *S. Alexius*; which not long after was united to *S. Iohn's* within the *Eastgate* of the same City. In his Time also *Reynold of Courtenay*, a Nobleman of *Normandy*, the Son of *Elorus* the Son of *Lewes*, named *Lewes le grosse*, King of *France*, came into this Land, and married *Hawise*, Daughter and Heir to *Adelis*, Sister and Heir to *Richard de Brion* the First, Vicecount of *Devon*; and in her Right was Vicecount of *Devon*. This *Bartholomew*, after he had been Bishop about 14, *Anno* 1184, died; but where he died, and where he was buried, doth not appear. In this Bishop's Time, about the Year 1170, one *Johannes Coriniensis*, a *Corninyhman* born, was a famous learned Divine. He was a Student at *Rome*, and other Places in *Italy*; and by that Means grew into great Acquaintance with Pope *Alexander* the Third. He wrote divers Books, and namely, *De Incarnatione Christi*, against *Peter Lombard*, who affirmed, *Quòd Christus, secundum quòd homo est, aliquid non est*; and this he dedicated to Pope *Alexander*.

XIX.

JOH^N, the Chaunter of the Cathedral Church of this City, was consecrated and installed Bishop of this Church, *Anno* 1184. He was well reported for his Liberality in continuing the Buildings of this Church, wherein he was nothing inferior to his Predecessors. In his Time King *Henry Fytzemprise* died; and he himself, having been Bishop about six Years, died *Anno* 1191.

XX. HENRY

XX.

HENRY MARSHALL, Archdeacon of *Stafford*, the Brother to *Walter* the Earl Marshal of *England*, was consecrated Bishop by *Hubert* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, Anno 1191. He finish'd the Building of his Church, according to the Plat and Foundation which his Predecessors had laid. And that done, he purchased the Patronage and Lordship of *Woodbury* of one *Albemarlie*, which he gave and impropriated unto the Vicars Choral of his Church. In this Man's Time, Anno 1201, one *Simon Thurnaius*, a *Cornishman* born, brought up in Learning, did, by Diligence and Study, so prosper therein that he became excellent in all the Liberal Sciences, and in his Days none thought to be like him. He left *Oxenford*, where he had been a Student, and went to *Paris*, and there became a Priest, and studied Divinity, and therein became so excellent, and of so deep a Judgment, that he was made Chief of the *Sorbonists*. At length he became so proud of his Learning, and glorified — [*it should be gloried*] — so much therein, that he would be singular, and thought himself to be another *Aristotle*. And so much he was therein blinded, and waxed so far in love with *Aristotle*, that he preferred him before *Moses* and CHRIST. And behold God's just Judgment! for suddenly his Memory failed him, and he waxed so forgetful, that he could neither call to Remembrance any Thing that he had done, neither could he discern, read, or know a Letter of the Book. This *Henry*, after that he had spent and lived twelve Years in his Bishopric, died, and lieth buried in the North Side of the Chancel of his Church in a very fair Tombe of Marble, Anno 1206.

XXI.

SIMON DE APULIA, Anno 1206, was installed Bishop of this See. Of him there remaineth no Memorial at all. In his Time were famous *Joseph Iscanius* and *Alexander Neckam*.
P The

The one was very well learned in the *Latin* and *Greek* Tongue, and in the Liberal Sciences: The other was Prior of *S. Nicholas*, and was an universal Man, being a profound Philosopher, an eloquent Orator, a pleasant Poet, and a deep Divine. In this Bishop's Time, the Doctrine of Elevation, Adoration, Reservation, and Praying for the Dead, being establish'd by Pope *Honorius* the Third, the Parish Churches within this City were limited, *Anno* 1222. In this Man's Time, *Anno* 1212, one *Johannes Devonius*, so surnamed because he was born in *Devon*, being well bent to good Studies, was much commended for his Learning and Modesty. He was familiar and of great Acquaintance with *Baldwin* [Arch]-Bishop of *Canturbury*; and being made Abbat of *Forde*, was in such Favour with King *John*, that he chose him to be his Confessor and Chaplain. He was a Writer, and compiled divers Books, which were then accounted of. Being dead, he was buried in his Abbey, the People much lamenting the Want of so good a Man. This Bishop, having spent 18 Years, died *Anno* 1224, and was buried in his own Church.

XXII.

WILLIAM BREWER, very shortly after the Death of the foresaid *Simon*, was elected Bishop, and consecrated by *Stephen Langton*, Archbishop of *Canturbury*, *Anno* 1224. He was born and descended of a noble House and Parentage, being Brother to Sir *William Brewer*, Knight, the Husband of the eldest Daughter and one of the Heirs to *William de Verona*, Earl of *Devon*; and who was also Founder of the Abbies of *Tor* and *Hartland*, and of other Monasteries. This Bishop so wisely and discreetly behaved himself, that he was had in great Reputation among all Men, and in special Favour with the King: For King *Henry*, having given his Sister Lady *Isabell* to Wife unto *Frederick* the Emperour, did commend and betake her to this Bishop
to

to be conveyed and conducted to the Emperour. And such was the Fame and good Report spread of him, that, as he passed through the Countries, they were, from Place to Place, received with great Honour; and, being come to the City of *Coleine*, the Archbishop there did not only very honourably receive and entertain them, but also accompanied them unto the City of *Wormes*, where the Marriage was solemnized. When this Bishop had seen the Marriage and all Things performed, he took his Leave, and was dismissed with great Presents, and honourably accompanied homewards by the Archbishop and others. At his Return he was joyfully received of all the Noblemen about the King, and most thankfully by the King himself, and whom the King used as his special and most trusty Councillor in all his weighty Causes. This Bishop being come home to his own House, and minding, as his Predecessors had done, to leave some good Memorial behind him, he made a Dean, and constituted 24 Prebendaries within his Church. To the one he appropriated *Brampton* and *Coliton Rawley*: For the others he purchased so much Land as out whereof he assigned to every Prebendary 4 Pound by the Year; and of these he ordained his Chapter. Also, in this Man's Time, *Anno* 1240, *Gilbert Long* and *Robert* his Brother, Citizens of this City, builded and founded the Hospital of *S. Iohns*, within the East Gate of this City, for the Sustenance of certain Poor Folks, called afterwards the Poor Children of *S. Iohns*; and gave all their Lands and Tenements to the same, which was sufficient. The Year following the Cell of *S. Alexis* was removed, and adjoined to *S. Iohns*; and then the Founders being dead, the Charge and Government of that House was by those Founders commended to the Maier of this City; and they thenceforth were Founders and Patrons thereof. *Anno* 1244, there grew a Contention concerning the Poor, Lazar, Sick, People of the *Magdalen* without

out the *South Gate* of this City, whose Manner and Usage was, then, with a Clap-dish, upon every Market-day, to resort and come to the Markets, and there to beg every one's Devotion: But, by Reason of their Sicknes, which was loathsome and abhorred, the People's Devotion waxed short and scant against them, as also every Man murmured against their going and begging at large. Whereupon, the Matter being brought into Question between the Bishop and this City, it was concluded

* *An Error
for thence-
forth.*

that a Permutation should be made, and that* therefore the Bishops should be Patrons and have the Government of *S. Johns*, and the Maior and his Successors to be Guardians and Founders of the Hospital of the *Magdalen*, with a Proviso that the Proctor of the *Magdalen* should, on one Day in every Month, come with his Box to *S. Peters Church*, at the Time of Service, and there receive and gather the Devotion of the Canons; which is used at these presents. This Poor House remaineth still; but the other, for Want of good Friends, was suppressed and dissolved. This Bishop, after that he had continued in his Church about 19 Years, died *Anno* 1244, and lieth buried in the Middle of his own Church, under a plain Marble Stone.

XXIII.

RICHARD BLONDIE, 1245, was consecrated and installed, Bishop *Bonifacius* then being Archbishop of *Can-
turbury*. This *Richard* was a Man of a mild Spirit, but very stout against such as, in his Time, did offer any Injury to the Church; and in his Old Years being but a weak Man, he was much carried and ruled by such as were his Officers and about him, who, taking the Opportunity of the Time, used all the Means they might to enrich themselves. His chiefeſt Officers were one *Lodeſewell* his Chancellor, *Sutton* his Register, *Fitz-
berbert*

herbert his Official, and *Ermestow* the Keeper of his Seal. These, with other of the chief Servants of the Household, compacted amongst themselves, that whilest the Bishop was yet living, who then lay sick and very weak in his Bed, to make and convey unto themselves Conveyances of such Livelihoods as then lay in the Bishop's Disposition; and, accordingly, made out Advoufons, and other such Conveyances as to them seemed best, all which were forthwith sealed and delivered, according to the Orders among them concluded. But these their subtil Dealings were not so closely conveyed, but that the next Bishop following boulded and found the same out, and did not only reverse all their Doings, but also did excommunicate them, and who were not absolved until they had done their Penance for the same: which was done at S. *Peter's* Church, openly, upon Palm-Sunday, being the 19th of *March*, 1267. This Bishop *Richard* in the twelfth Year of his Bishopric died, and was buried in his own Church.

XXIV.

WALTER BRONESCOME, Archdeacon of *Surrey*, was consecrated Bishop, at *Canturbury*, upon Passion Sunday Anno 1286 --- [*an Error for 1268.*] --- under *Bonifacius* then Archbishop. He was born in this City of *Exon*, and was the Son of poor Parents; but he being of a very towardness and good Disposition, and very apt to Learning, they partly of themselves, and partly by Help of their Friends, did put him to School, and kept him to his Book; wherein he proved and prospered so well, that he was very well learned. At the Time of his Election he was no Priest, and therefore not capable of any such Dignity: But immediately he took that Order upon him, and forthwith was consecrated Bishop; all which being done within fifteen Days, it was counted as for a Miracle, namely,

namely, that he should be elected Bishop, then made Priest, and at last to be consecrated, within that Space. For so many Dignities (as they termed it) to be cast upon one Man in so short a Time, had not been lightly seen. He founded the College of *Glascin* --- [perhap *Glaseney*] --- in *Perin* in *Cornwall*, and endowed the same with fair Possessions and Revenues. He purchased the Barton of *Rokesdon*, and *Clift*, and gave it to the Hospital of *S. Iohns*, within the East Gate of the City of *Excester*. He instituted in his own Church the Feast called *Gabrils* Feast, and gave a Piece of Land for the Maintenance thereof. He also did, by a Policy, purchase the Lordship and House of *Clift Sachisfield*, and by a Devise did enlarge thereof, by gaining of *Cornish* Wood from his Dean and Chapter: And builded then a very fair and sumptuous House, and called it *Bishop's Clift*; which he left to his Successors. Likewise he got the Patronage of *Clift Fomeson*, now called *Sowton*, and annexed the same to his new Lordship, which, as it was said, was in this Order. — He had a Frier to be his Chaplain and Confessor, which died in his said House of *Clift*, and should have been buried at the Parish Church of *Faringdon*, because the said House was, and is, in that Parish: But because the Parish Church was somewhat far off, the Ways foul, and the Weather rainy, --- or for some other Causes, --- the Bishop willed and commanded the Corpse to be carried to the Parish Church of *Sowton*, then called *Clift Fomeson*, which is very near, and bordereth upon, the Bishop's Lordship; the two Parishes there being divided by a little Lake call'd *Clift*. At this Time one *Fomeson*, a Gentleman, was Lord and Patron of *Clift Fomeson*; and he being advertised of such a Burial towards in his Parish, and a Leech Way to be made over his Land without his Leave or Consent required therein, calleth his Tenants together, and goeth to the Bridge over the Lake between the Bishop's Land and his, and there

there meeteth the Bishop's Men bringing the said Corpse, and forbiddeth them to come over the Water. But the Bishop's Men, nothing regarding the same, do press forwards to come over the Water; and the others do withstand, and fall at Strife about the Matter, so long, that in the End my Lord's Frier is fallen into the Water. The Bishop taketh this Matter in such Grief, that the holy Frier, a Religious Man, and his own Chaplain and Confessor, should so unreverently be cast into the Water, that he falleth out with the Gentleman, and, upon what Occasion I know not, he sueth him in the Law, and so vexeth and tormenteth him, that, in the End, he was fain to yield himself to the Bishop's Devotion, and seeketh all Ways he could to curry the Bishop's Goodwill; which he could not obtain until, for his Redemption, he had given and surrender'd up his Patronage of *Sowton*, with a Piece of Land; all which the said Bishop annexeth to his new Lordship. Thus by Policy he purchased the Manor of *Bishops-Clist*, by a Device gaineth *Cornish-Wood*, and by Power wresteth the Patronage of *Sowton*. This Bishop, after he had occupied this See about 23 Years, died, and was buried in his own Church in a sumptuous Tomb of Alabaſter.

XXV.

PETER QUIVILL, *Anno* 1281, was consecrated Bishop of this Church, under *John* Archbishop of *Canturbury*. He * first instituted a Chaunter and Subdean in his Church. To the one he impropriated *Painton* and *Chidleigh*, and to the other the Rectory of *Eglosehale* in *Cornwall*. He was a liberal and a special Benefactor to the Hospital of *S. John's* in *Excester*, as well in Goods as in Livelihoods. He first began to enlarge and increase his Church from the Chancel downwards, and laid the Foundation

* *It, perhaps, ought rather to be said, "He increased the Livelihood of the Chaunter, and instituted a Subdean."*

Foundation thereof. In his Time, *Anno* 1285, *Walter Lichlade*, the first Chaunter, was slain, in a Morning, as he came from the Morning Service, then called the *Mattines*, which was wont to be said shortly after Midnight. Upon which Occasion the King came unto this City, and kept his Christmas in the same, and thereupon a Composition was made between the Bishop and the City for inclosing of the Churchyard, and building certain Gates there, as appeareth by the said Composition, bearing Date in *Festo annunciationis beatæ Mariæ* 1286. The King at the Suit of the Earl of *Hereford*, who, at his being here, was lodged in the House of the Gray Friers, which then was near the House of S. *Nicholas*, obtained of the Bishop that they should be removed from thence to a more wholesome Place, which was to be the Place without *Southgate*: Whereof, after the King's Departure, grew some Controversy, because the Bishop refused to perform his Promise made to the King. This Man also impropriated the Parish of S. *Newleine* and the Parish of *Stoke Gabrell*, and united the same to the Office of the Chancellor of the Cathedral Church, and under Condition that the said Chauncellor should continually read a Lecture, within the said City, of Divinity, or of the Decretals: And if he should fail to do this, that then it might and should be lawful to the Bishop to resign --- [*It should be resume*] --- the said Parsonages impropriated, and to bestow it at his Pleasure; as appeareth by the said Grant, under the Seals of the said Bishop, Dean and Chapter, dated the 12th of the Calends of *May*, 1283. This Bishop, not long after, and in the eleventh Year of his Bishopric, died, being choaked in drinking of a Sirrop, *Anno* 1292. and was buried in his own Church. The Franciscans, or Gray Friers, of this City imputed his Death to his Hard-dealing with them: For, whereas he had promised the King to provide a convenient Place for them to build their House in, and had

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willed their Warden, named *Deoditus* --- [*Deodatus*], --- to seek out and make inquiry for the same, yet, notwithstanding, when he had so done, because the same was in his Fee, he did swerve from his said Promise, and did utterly deny to perform the same, by the Persuasion of one *Peter Renefeld*, a Dominican or Black Frier, and Confessor unto the said Bishop. For he, envying the good Success of the Franciscanes, persuadeth with the Bishop that in no wise he should permit them to enjoy the Place which they had gotten, nor to build therein, because it was within his Fee; for, saith he, as under Colour of Simplicity, they creep into the Hearts of the People, and hinder us poor Preachers from our Gains and Livings: So be ye sure, that if the Canons put Foot within your Liberties, they will in Time so incroach upon the same, as that they will be clean exempted from out of your Liberty and Jurisdiction. The Bishop being soon persuaded and contented, contrary to his Promise, to yield thereunto, denieth the Franciscans, and utterly forbiddeth them to build, or do any Thing, within his Fee or Liberty. About two Years after, the Bishop kept a great Feast upon the Sunday next after S. *Francis* Day; and among others was present with him one *Walter Winborne*, one of the King's Chief-Justices of the Bench, and who was present when the Bishop, at the Request of the King, made promise to further and to help the Franciscans, and who, in their Behalf, did now put the Bishop in mind thereof, and requested him to have consideration both of his own Promise and of their Distress. The Bishop, misliking these Speeches, waxed somewhat warm and offended; and, in open Terms, did not only deny to yield hereunto, but wished himself to be choaked, what Day so ever he did consent or yield unto it. It fortun'd that the same Week, and upon the Day of S. *Francis* Eve, the Bishop took a certain Sirop to drink, and, in too hasty swallowing thereof, his Breath was stopped,

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and

and he forthwith died. The *Franciscans*, hearing thereof, made no little ado about this Matter, but blazed it abroad that *S. Francis* wrought this Miracle upon the Bishop, because he was so hard against them.

XXVI.

THOMAS BITTON the Year following was elected Bishop; and, the See of *Canturbury* was — [being] — void, he was consecrated by *John Roman* Archbishop of *York*. He left no Memorial of any great Things done by him, saving that he continued in the building of his Church, as also was a Favourer of such Learned Men as were, in his Diocese, in his Time, namely *Robert Plimton*, a Regular Canon of *Plimpton*, and a Professor of Divinity, and who wrote two Books; *Walter of Exon*, a Franciscan Frier of *Carocus* in *Cornwall*, who, at the Request of one *Baldwin of Excester*, wrote the History of *Guie of Warwike*; — *William of Excester*, Doctor of Divinity, and Warden of the Franciscan Friars in this City; — *Godfrey* surnamed *Cornwall*, a subtil Schoolman, and a Reader of Divinity sometimes in *Paris*. This Bishop, after 14 Years that he had occupied this See, died *Anno* 1306, and was buried in his own Church.

XXVII.

WALTER STAPLEDON, *Anno* 1307, being elected Bishop of this City, was consecrated by *Robert Wincelsey*, Archbishop of *Canturbury*. He descended of a most noble Parentage, which, joined with his Learning, Wisdom, and politic Head, did get him great Credit and Favour with the King, who had him not only one of his Privy-Council, but also made him Lord Treasurer of *England*. At his Inthronization, or Installing, he kept a solemn Observation. For, being come first to the City, immediately after his Consecration, as soon as he came

came to the East Gate, he alighted from his Horse, and went in on foot, all the Street being covered and layed with black Cloth. He was led on both Sides with two Men of Worship; and Sir *Hew [Hugh] Courtenay*, Knt. who claimed to be Steward of his Feast, went next before him. The Feast itself was very sumptuous and liberal. A Controversy was between him and the said Sir *Hew [Hugh] Courtenay*, concerning his Challenge to be his Steward: But it was compounded and ended. This Bishop, as he grew and increased in Wealth, so he was careful in the well disposing of Part thereof. For the Increase of Learning he builded and erected two Houses in *Oxford*; the one named *Stapledon's Inn*, but since *Exeter College*; the other *Hartball*. He was also a special Benefactor unto the Hospital of *S. Johns* in *Excester*, unto which, for the relieving of certain Poor Children therein, he impropriated the Rectory or Parsonage of *Ernescome*. In the Controversy between his Master King *Edward* the Second and *Charles* the French King, he was sent Embassador to the French King, and joined in Commission with the Queen, for the Treaty of a Peace and Reconciliation. Which though it were obtain'd, yet he joining with the *Spensers*, who favoured not the Queen, he returned into *England*, leaving the Queen behind him. And whereas they practised what they could to put Enmity between the King and her, and to set her beside the Cushion, they themselves fell into the same Snares which they had laid for others. For, not long after, the Queen, by the Help of the Earl of *Henaulde*, and of *S. John* his Brother, came into *England* with a great Army; whereof the King and the *Spensers* being afraid departed from *London* to *Bristowe*, leaving this Bishop at *London*, and made him Custos of the same, who requiring the Keys of the Gates of the City of the Maior, the Commoners took him and beheaded him, as also his Brother Sir *Richard Stapledon*, in Cheapside, and carried his Body

to his House without Temple-bar, and there buried it in a Sand-hill, namely the 15th of *October* 1329. But the Queen forgetting all Discourtesies, and reverencing his Calling, commanded his Corpse to some more honourable Burial. Whereupon the same was taken up, and brought to this City, and with great Solemnity was buried in his own Church, upon the 28th of *March*; where his Epitaph by the Writer hereof is set. Thus, after that he had been Bishop about 20 Years, he ended his Days.

XXVIII.

JAMES BARKELEIE, upon the 26th of *March*, Anno 1327, before the Burial of his Predecessor in his own Church, was consecrated Bishop of this City. He descended of the Noble House of the Lord *Barkeleie*; and albeit he were reputed to be a very godly and a wise Man, yet he had no Time to yield the Tryal thereof: For he died in the fourth Month after his Consecration, upon the 24th of *July*, Anno 1327, and was buried in his own Church, as some say; but some think he never came hither at all.

XXIX.

JOHN GRANDESSON, being in *Italy* with Pope *John* the xxii. after the Death of *James Barkeleie*, the King presented him unto the Pope, who accepted the Presentation, and consecrated him Bishop of this Diocese the 8th of *October*, 1327. He was born and descended of the Antient House of the *Grandeßons*, Dukes of *Burgundy*. His Father was named *Gilbert*, the Brother of *Otho* the Great Lord *Grandeßon*, which *Gilbert*, coming into this Land, was well entertained by the King and Nobility, and had a good liking of the Country, that, by Means of *Henry* Earl of *Lancaster*, with whom he came into *England*,
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he married Lady *Sibill*, Daughter and one of the Heirs to *John Tregos*, Lord of the Castle of *Ewas*, near *Hereford-east*, and by her had Issue five Sons and four Daughters, of which this Bishop was one, and was born in the Parish of *Asheperton* in the Diocese of *Hereford*. He was from his Childhood very well affected to Learning, and became a good Scholar, and a Professor of Divinity, of which Method he wrote two Books, the one intituled *Pontificales Majores*, and the other *Pontificales Minores*. He was also very grave, wise, and politick; and thereby grew into such Credit with Pope *John* the xxii. that he was not only of his Privy-Council, but also *Nuncio Apostolica Sedis*: And in all Matters of Weight and Importance an Embassador for him, to the Emperor, to the King of *Hispane*, of *France*, of *England*, and all other the mightiest Princes of Christendom. And being, on a Time, sent on in an Embassage to K. *Edward* the Third, he did with such Wisdom and Gravity behave himself, that the King was ravished in Love with him, and did so tenderly love and favour him, that he never ceased until he had procured him from the Pope; and then he gave him the Archdeaconry of *Nottingham*, and bestowed great Livings upon him. He made him one of his Privy Council; and, in the End, preferred him to this Bishopric. After this, there being some Disliking between Pope *Clement* the Sixth and the King, he for his approved Wisdom was sent in an Ambassage to the Pope, *Anno* 1343, for an Intreaty of a Peace, and an Amity between them to be had. And with such Wisdom did he his Message, that he obtained his Purpose, and made a Reconciliation. After his Return home to his Bishopric, he was altogether given in doing some good Things. He builded and founded the College of *S. Mary Ottery*, and endowed the same with great and goodly Livelihoods. He was a liberal Benefactor to the Vicars Choral of his own Church,

Church, as also to the College of *Gasseney* in *Perrin*. He builded the two last Arches in the West End of his Church, vaulted the Roof of all the Church, and fully performed and ended the Buildings of the same; and then enriched his said Church with Plate, Ornaments, and great Riches. He also builded a very fair House in his Sanctuary at *Bishops Teignton*, which he gave and left full furnished unto his Successors, and did impropriate unto the same the Parsonage of *Radway*, to the end, as he setteth down in his Testament, "*ut haberent locum unde caput suum reclinarent, si forte in manum regis eorum temporalia caperentur*;" --- and which his * *Halfening* in the End came partly to Effect: For not only the most Part of the Temporalities of this Bishopric, but this new builded House and Impropriation are come to be the Possessions and Inheritances of Temporal Men. This Bishop waxed old, and, feeling in himself a Decay of Nature, made his last Will and Testament, wherein he made such large and bounteous Legacies to the Pope, Emperour, King, Queen, Archbishop, Bishops, Colleges, Churches, and to sundry Persons of high Estates and Callings, that a Man would marvel, considering his great and chargeable Buildings, and Works otherwise, how, and by what Means, he could have attained to such a Mass of Wealth and Riches; but, his Wisdom and Policy considered, it was easy. For first he sequestrateth from himself, and out of his House, the Troop of many Men and Horses, retaining and keeping no more than to serve his reasonable Estate: His Diet was frugal, his Receipts great, his Expences no more than necessary. Moreover he had taken and set an Order with all the Ecclesiastical Persons

* *Halfening*. This Word was common in *Exeter* in my own Time, I having heard it from my own Mother's Mouth, possibly 1000 times. It signifies a *Prediction*, but was generally appropriated to an evil Meaning, as to *foretell* or *preconceive* an unlucky Event. *Brice*.

Persons of his Diocese, that at the Time of their Deaths they should leave and bequeath all their Goods to him, or to some other in Trust, *in pios usus*, and towards his chargeable Buildings. And so well he was beloved, and his Doings liked, that they all accepted this his Order. By Means whereof he grew within the Course of 40 Years to infinite Wealth and Riches. He was in all his Life-time a plain Man, and void of all Vain-glory and Pomp, and prevented that none should be used at his Burial, commanded the same to be done plainly and simply; and that none of his Executors, Chaplains, Servants, nor none of his House, should wear any Mourning Black Clothes at the same, but only their accustomable and common Apparel, when -[which]- then was commonly grey-coloured Clothes. This Bishop was no more grave and wise than stout and of Courage, if Occasion so did require: And, among other Things, this is reported of him: That, about the Year of our Lord 1331, *Simon Mepham*, then Archbishop of *Canterbury*, sent his Mandatum unto this Bishop, that he would visit his Church and Diocese upon Monday next after Ascension-day then following. This Bishop (upon what Occasion it is not written) did refuse this Mandatum, and appealed from the same, advertising the Archbishop that he should not visit his Church nor Diocese. Notwithstanding, the Archbishop, at the Time appointed, came to this City, and went to *S. Peters Church*, nothing thinking that any durst to withstand him. But the Bishop, knowing of his coming, goeth to the Church Door and meeteth the Archbishop, and forbiddeth him to enter into his Church; and the Archbishop pressing forward, as with Force to enter, the Bishop, being then well guarded, denieth and resisteth him. Whereupon the Archbishop departed; and after, at a Provincial Council holden at *London*, the Archbishop complained hereof; but, by Means of the like Discord between

tween him and his Suffragans, he prevailed not. In this Bishop's Time one *William of Excester*, a very learned Man, was a Canon of this Church; and he, joining himself with *Nicholas de Cesena*, *Okeham*, *Walsingham*, and others, did openly preach, 'That Christ and his Apostles were but poor Men, and had no Temporal Possessions: Neither was any Emperor or Lay Man subject to the Pope but only in Matters of Religion.' But when he heard that Pope *John* the xxiii. had excommunicated and would condemn them all for Hereticks, this *William*, to save his Livings, secretly shrunk away from his old Companions, and changed his Copy, and writeth certain Conclusions against them and his own Preachings. Also in this Bishop's Time, about the Year of our Lord 1340, one *John of Bampton*, so named because he was born at *Bampton*, in this Diocese, and a Monk of the Order of the *Carmelites*, was a very good Scholar, and first did openly read *Aristotle* in the University of *Cambridge*, where he was a Scholar; and afterwards he studied Divinity, and was made Doctor. He wrote certain Books, which are not extant. This Bishop, after that he had occupied this Church about 42 Years, he died upon *S. Swithins* Day, 1369, and was buried in a Chappel, which he builded in the West Wall of his own Church.

XXX.

THOMAS BRENTINGHAM, after the Death of this *John Grandisson*, was at one Instant chosen Bishop of *Excester* and Bishop of *Hereford*, who refusing the one took the other, and was consecrated Bishop of *Excester* upon the 10th of *March* 1370, being the Feast-day of *Nereus* and *Achilles*, by *William of Worcester*, then Archbishop of *Canturbury*. This *Thomas* was a Man very well learned, and experted both in Ecclesiastical Matters and in Politike Government, and in both these respects

pects greatly revered and esteemed; and for that Cause, at the Parliament holden at *Westminster*, in the tenth Year of King *Richard* the Second, he was chosen to be one of the twelve Peers of the Realm under the King. He was a Benefactor to the *Calenderhay* of the Vicars Choral of his own Church, and performed and supplied in Buildings, and otherwise, what his Predecessors had left undone; and, having been Bishop 24 Years, he died the third of *December*, Anno 1394, and was buried in the North Side of the Body of his own Church.

XXXI.

EDMOND STAFFORD, upon the 20th Day of *June*, Anno 1395, was consecrated at *Lambeth* by *William Courtenay*, Archbishop of *Canterbury*. He was born and descended of Noble Parentage, being Brother to *Ralph* Lord *Stafford*, created Earl of *Stafford* by K. *Edward* the Third. He was both wise and learned. For his Wisdom he grew into great Credit with the King, and was both of his Privy Council as also Lord Chancellor of *England*. At the Parliament holden at *Westminster* the 21st Year of K. *Richard* the Second, he, being then Speaker of the Higher House, made a very learned and pithy Oration to prove the Absolute Authority of a King. His Theme was, *Rex unus erit omnibus*; — and having discoursed at large of the Authority of a King, did conclude, *Quod potestas Regis esset sibi sola, unita, annexa, & solida*, and whosoever did by any Means impeach the same, *Pænâ legis meritò esset plectendus*. And, for the Furtherance of good Letters, he did increase two Fellowships in the College of *Stapledon's Inn* in *Oxford*, reformed the Statutes of the House, and altered the Name of it, and called it *Excester College*. After that he had continued Bishop, in much Honour, about 23 Years, he died the 4th of *September*, being the seventh Year of K. *Henry* the Fifth, and lieth buried in his own Church, in a very fair Tomb of Alabaster.

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XXXII. JAMES

XXXII.

JAMES CARYE, Bishop of *Chester*, being at *Florence* when News was brought to Pope *Martin* the Fifth, of Bishop *Stafford's* Death, was then and there made Bishop of this Church, *Anno* 1419, and also consecrated: But long he enjoyed not his Office; for there he died and was buried.

XXXIII.

EDMOND LACIE, Bishop of *Hereford*, was translated from thence unto this Church, in the Feast of *Easter*, and in the eighth Year of K. *Henry* the Fifth, *Anno* 1420. He was a Man very devout and religious, but subject to Flatterers, who carried him to their Pleasure. He was a liberal Benefactor to the Vicar ---[*Priest Vicars*]--- of *Calendar-hay*. Great Contentions were between him and the City for Liberties; which by Arbitriment were compounded. He founded the Chapter-House in his own Church. He was a Professor of Divinity, and very well learned: For in the second Year of his Bishopric, being the 9th Year of the King's Reign, there was a Parliament holden at *Westminster*, in which great Complaints were made against the loose and dissolute Lives of the Religious Men, and especially the Black Monks. And this Matter being brought to the Convocation-House, this Bishop, as Chief Prolocutor of that Assembly, did make a very learned and pithy Oration, before the King, then of purpose present, and the whole Clergy, much lamenting that the Religious Men were so far strayed from the Rules of their Professions, and the Holiness of their Predecessors. And when he had at large discoursed the same, he delivered up certain Articles in Writing, praying for Reformation. Which his Speeches were so effectually utter'd, and his Articles so effectually penn'd, that both the King and the
Clergy

Clergy did not only with great Liking and Allowance praise and commend the same, but also take Order that there should be a Provincial Council called out of hand for a Reformation; which was then promised, but not perform'd, by reason of the King's Death, which not long after followed. But yet, in the Way of good Speed, it was then concluded and agreed, that every third Benefice, being of the Gift of any of the Prelates, or of any Monastery, should from thenceforth, for seven Years, be given to some Scholar of *Oxenford* or *Cambridge*. This Bishop, after he had lived 25 Years in this Bishopric, died, and was buried in the North Wall of the Choir in his own Church: After whose Death many Miracles were said, and devised, to be done at his Tomb; whereupon great Pilgrimages were made by the Common People to the same.

XXXIV.

GEORGE NEVELL succeeded *Edmond Lacie*, and was consecrated in the Feast of *S. Katharine*, Anno 1455. He was of a Noble Parentage, being the Second Son of *Richard Nevell* Earl of *Sarisbury*. He finished and ended the Chapter-house, which his Predecessor had begun. And, after he had been Bishop about ten Years, he was removed to *York*, and made Archbishop there, Anno 1465.

XXXV.

JOHN BOOTHE, after the Translation of *George Nevell* to *York*, was consecrated Bishop under *Thomas Burscher*, Archbishop of *Canterbury*, upon the 22d of *February*, Anno 1466. He was by Profession a Civilian, and a Batchelor of the same. He governed his Church very well, and builded, as some suppose, the Bishop's Sea — [*Seat*] — in the Choir: But, being weary of the great Troubles which were in this Country

between King *Edward* the Fourth and the Earl of *Warwick*, he removed from hence to his House of *Horsleigh* in *Hampshire*, where, in the twelfth Year of his Bishopric, he died, upon the 5th Day of *April*, Anno 1478, and lieth buried at *S. Clements* in *London*.

XXXVI.

PETER COURTENAY, immediately after the Death of *Botke*, was presented to this Bishopric, and consecrated by *Thomas* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, in *November*, Anno 1477, at *S. Stephens* in *Westminster*. He was the Son of Sir *Philip Courtenay* of *Powderham*. His Mother was named *Elizabeth*, Daughter to *Walter* Lord *Hungerford*. He, for his Wisdom and good Behaviour, was in great Credit and Favour with *K. Henry* the Seventh, by whose Means he was translated from this Church unto *Winchester*, in the ninth Year of his being Bishop here; and, in the fifth Year of his being there, he died upon the 20th of *December*, Anno 1491, and lieth buried in his own Church. He finished the North Tower of *S. Peters*, and gave the Clock Bell which is in the same, and which beareth the Name, *Peter*.

XXXVII.

RICHARD FOX, upon the removing of *Peter Courtenay*, was consecrated Bishop of this Church under *Thomas* Archbishop of *Canterbury* 1466. He was a very wise Man, and in great Credit and Estimation with King *Henry* the Seventh, unto whom he was a faithful Counsellor, and of his Privy Council: With whom he acquainted himself at *Paris*, when he was there a Student. For King *Henry*, then Earl of *Richmond*, being at *Venice*, and advertised how the Nobility of *England* was bent to have him to be their King, came from thence to *Paris*, and sought unto *Charles*, then King of *France*, for Aid and

and Help. In which the Earl's Suits this *Fox* was a special Traveller and Counsellor: And, in the End, God giving the Success, the Earl obtain'd the Crown; and, having had the Tryal of the Fidelity, Wisdom, and Trust of this Bishop, he made him Lord Privy Seal, and kept and used him and his Advice in all his weighty Matters, as well at home as abroad: He being Ambassador sundry Times to the King of *France* and *Scotland*. And of a very hearty Goodwill and Love the King made him Godfather to his Second Son K. *Henry* the Eighth. There was a Kind of Emulation between this Bishop and the Earl of *Surrey*: Both of them being very wise, and of great Service to the King and Commonwealth. Howbeit, in some Diversity of respects, the one, having no Issue to care for, did deal without any private Affection or singular Gain; and the other, having Issue, was desirous to advance his House and Honor. These Affections did breed some Dislike between them Two; yet the King, finding a Faith unto himself, a Commodity to the Commonwealth, misliked it not, if the same exceeded not his Measure, and they more warm than commendable for their Calling and Estates. The King, then, or the Council, would deal between them for the appeasing and pacifying of them; and to them he was both friendly, loving, and liberal. The one he delivered out of the Tower, pardon'd him of his Offences, restored him to his Lands, received him into special Favour, made him of his Privy Council, as also Lord Treasurer of *England*, and his General in *Scotland*, and augmented his Livelihoods: The other he first made Bishop of this Church, then removed him unto *Bath*, and from thence unto *Durham*, and lastly unto *Winchester*. *Erasmus*, in his Book intituled *The Preacher* or *Ecclesiastes*, declareth how that the King, upon a Time, wanting some Piece of Money, --- [*The Author means a Parcel, Sum, or Quantity*

tity of Money] --- was to borrow the same of the Commons and of the Clergy: And for the Dealings with the Clergy the Matter was, by Commission, committed to the Bishop. Who, when they came before him, used all the Excuses that they could to shift themselves from lending of any Money. Some came very seemly and well appareled, and awaited upon by their Men, according to their Livelihoods; and these alledged, that they were greatly charged in Hospitality and House-keeping, with other Charges incident to the same; so that they had no Money, and therefore could pay none. Some came poorly and barely appareled; and they alledged, that their Livelihoods were but small, and yet their Charges great, and by that Means the World was so hard with them, that they had it not to spare. This Bishop, having heard all these Excuses, used this Dilemma. To the Richer Sort he said, ' For as much as you are so well and seemly apparelled, and ' do keep so great Houses, and have all Things necessary ' about you, it is a manifest Argument that you have some ' Store about you, or else you would not do as you do; and ' therefore you must needs lend.' To the others, who pretend Excuse of their Poverty, he thus replied unto them; ' That ' for as much as they were so bare in their Apparel, and so ' sparing of their Expences, it must needs be that they saved ' their Purfes, and had Money; and therefore they must ' needs pay.' And so adjudgeth them to lend unto the Prince. As he rose by Learning, so he was a great Favourer and Furtherer of Learning, and for the good Increase of the same he builded and founded *Corporis Christi* College in *Oxenford*. In his latter Days he waxed and was blind, and, dying in *Winchester*, he was there buried in his own Church. After that he had been Bishop of *Excester* 6 Years, he was removed to *Bath*, Anno 1492.

XXXVIII.

OLIVER KING, immediately upon the Transferring of Bishop Fox, was consecrated Bishop of this Church in February 1492, John Morton then Archbishop of Canterbury. This Oliver was Chaplain to King Henry the Seventh, and Dean of Windsor, and Register of the Order of the Garter. In his Time were the Rebellions of Joseph the Blacksmith and Perken Warbecke. This Bishop, after that he had occupied this See about five Years, died Anno 1497; and, as some suppose, he was buried at Windsor.

XXXIX.

RICHARD REDMAN, immediately upon the Death of Bishop Oliver King, was translated from his Bishopric in Wales unto this City; but after five Years he was removed unto the Bishopric of Ely, and installed there in September, Anno 1501. He was a Gentleman born, and descended of a very worshipful House; which, joined with his Wisdom and Learning, did much increase his Credit and good Report.

XL.

JOHAN ARUNDELL, next after the Translation of Bishop Redman, was removed from Coventry and Lichfield unto this City, and was installed the 15th of March 1501. Wherein he sought not the Preferment for any Livelihoods, but rather desirous to be a Dweller and resiant in his Country where he was born; for he was descended of the Arundels of Lanberne in Cornwall, a House of great Antiquity and Worship. He long enjoy'd not his new Bishopric; for, after two Years after his Installing, he had Occasion to ride unto London; and there died, and was buried in Saint Clements Church, without Temple-bar, Anno 1503.

XLI. HEW

HEW—[HUGH]—OLDHAM, upon the Death of *Arundell*, by the Preferment of the Countess of *Richmond* and *Darby*, unto whom he was Chaplain, was preferr'd unto this Bishopric, and installed in the same. He was a Man having more Zeal than Knowledge, and more Devotion than Learning; somewhat rough in Speeches, but friendly in Doings. He was careful in the saving and defending of his Liberties, for which continual Suits was between him and the Abbat of *Tavistoke*. He was liberal to the Vicars Choral of his Church, and reduced them to the keeping of Commons; and towards the Maintenance thereof he gave them certain Revenues, and impropriated unto them the Rectory of *Cornwood*. He, albeit (of himself) he was not learned, yet [*was*] a great Favourer and a Furtherer of Learning and Learned Men. Notwithstanding he was sometime crossed in his honest Attempt therein, he first was minded to have enlarged *Excester College* in *Oxford*, as well in Buildings as in Fellowships: But after being a Requester to the Fellows for one *Atkins* to be a Fellow, in whose Favour he had written his Letters, and was denied, he changed his Mind, and his Goodwill was alienated. About the same Time Doctor *Smith*, Bishop of *Lincoln*, was building of the College named *Brazen-nose*, and was very willing and desirous to join with him; but being then denied to have the Nomination of a Founder his Mind was changed. Not long after, being advertised that Bishop *Fox* of *Winchester* was minded to erect and found a new College, he joined with him, and contributed unto him a great Mass of Money; and so a College was builded for Scholars, and great Livelihoods provided for them: And then the House was named *Corporis Christi* College. Whereof the one of them bare the Name of a Founder, and the other of a Benefactor. Howbeit some Diversity was between these two Bishops, at the first, to what Use this College should be employ'd: For the
 Founder

Founder was of the Mind that he would have it made for a House of Monks; but the Benefactor was of a contrary Mind, and would have it for Scholars, alledging that Monks were but a sort of buzzing Flies, and whose State could not long indure; whereas Scholars brought up in Learning would be profitable Members to the Commonwealth, and good Ornaments to the Church of God, and continue for ever. The Founder, being a wise Man, and of a deep Judgment, when he had well paused and considered hereof, yieldeth hereunto; and so it was concluded between them to make and build a College for Scholars. And forthwith, for the good Direction, Guiding, and Government, of the said College and Scholars, such wise, good, and politick Statutes and Ordinances were, by good Advice and Counsel, devised, stablish'd, and ordain'd, as whereby the said College hath been, and yet continueth, one of the best Nurseries for training and instructing of good Scholars in Learning within that University. This Bishop and the Abbat of *Tave-stoke* did still contend, and continue in Law, during their Lives; and during which Sute this Bishop died, being excommunicated at *Rome*, and who could not be suffered to be buried until an Absolution from *Rome* was procured for him. After that he had been Bishop about 16 Years, he died the 25th of *June* 1519, and was buried in his own Church.

XLII.

JOHAN VOISEIE, otherwise *HARMAN*, succeeded *Oldham*, by the Preferment of K. *Henry* the Eighth, whose Chaplain he then was, and Dean of his Chappel, as also of this Church. He was Doctor of the Laws, very learned and wise, and in great Favour with the King, who sent him sundry Times in Embassages to Foreign Princes. He was Lord President of *Wales*, and had the Government of the King's —[then]— onely Daughter, Lady *Mary*, Princess of *Wales*. Of all the Bishops in the Land he was accounted the courtliest, and the best Courtier, and although he were well reported for his Learning, yet

better liked for his courtly Behaviour, which in the End turned not so much to his Credit as to the utter Ruin and Spoil of the Church: For of 22 Lordships and Manors, which his Predecessors had, and left unto him, of goodly Yearly Revenue, he left but 3, and them also leased out: And where he found 14 Houses well furnished, he left only one House, bare and without Furniture, and yet charged with sundry Fees and Annuities. And by these Means this Bishopric, which sometimes was counted one of the best, is now become in temporal Lands one of the meanest, and (according to the fore-propheying of Bishop *Grandidison*) a Place scarce left for the Bishop to lay his Head in; and yet, nevertheless, he was a great Favourer of Learned Men, and especially Divines, whom he preferred in his Church above others. He was very bounteous and liberal unto all Men, but especially unto Courtiers, and to his own Kindred and Countrymen. Upon many he bestowed much, unto the Confusion of some of them; and upon the other he spent much by building of a Town, named *Sutton Colsbull*, where he was born, which he procured to be incorporated, and made a Market Town, and set up therein making of Kearfies; but all which in the End came to small Effect. In his Time, after the Death of King *Henry* the Eighth, there was an Alteration of Religion, and a Commotion in this Diocese; which, in some Part, was imputed to this Bishop, because he lay far from it, and dwelled in his own Country. Whereupon he resigned the Bishopric into the King's Hands, after that he had been Bishop about 30 Years, and lived by the Rents of the Temporality of the Bishopric, which when he alienated he did receive — [*reserve*] — unto him for Term of his own Life.

XLIII.

MILES COVERDALE, after the Resignation of *Voisie*, was by King *Edward* made Bishop of this City, and consecrated at *Lambeth* by *Thomas Cranmer*, Archbishop of *Canterbury*, Anno 1550. He was born in the North-Country, and from his Childhood given to Learning, wherein he profited
very

very much He was one of the first which professed the Gospe^l in this Land. In the Time of King *Henry* the Eighth he translated the Bible out of the *Hebrew* into *English*, and wrote sundry Books upon the Scriptures; which Doctrine being very new and strange in those Days, and he very streightly persued by the Bishops, made his Escape, and passed over into *Low Germany*, where he printed the Bibles of his Translation, and sent them over into *England*, and thereof made his Gain whereby he lived. But the Bishops, namely Doctor *Stokesley* Bishop of *London*, when he heard hereof, and minding to prevent, that no such Bibles should be dispersed within this Realm, made inquiry where they were to be sold, and bought them all up, supposing that by this Means no more Bibles would be had; but, contrary to his Expectation, it fell out otherwise: For the same Money which the Bishop gave for these Books was sent over by the Merchant unto this *Coverdale*; and by that Means he was of that Wealth and Ability that he imprinted as many more, and sent them over into *England*. But he was then so narrowly sought for, that he was driven to remove himself out of *Flanders* into *Germany*, and dwelled under the Palsgrave of the *Rhine*, where he found much Favour. First, he taught young Children; and, having learned the *Dutch* Tongue, the Prince *Palatine* gave him a Benefice, named *Burghsaber*, where he continued, and lived very well, partly by that Benefice, and partly by the Liberality of the Lord *Cromwell*, who was his good Lord, and relieved him very much. At length, when the Religion was altered in *England*, and the Gospel had a free Passage, he returned, and did very much good in preaching of the same. And when the Commotion for Religion was at a Height, he was appointed to attend the Lord *Russel*, when he came to suppress the same: And very shortly, for his Learning and godly Life, was made Bishop of this See; who most worthily did perform the Office committed unto him. He preached continually upon every holy Day, and did read most commonly twice in the Week, in some one Church or other within this City.

He was, after the Rate of his Livings, a great Keeper of Hospitality, very sober in Diet, godly in Life, friendly to the Godly, liberal to the Poor, and courteous to all Men; void of Pride, full of Humility, abhorring Covetousness, and an Enemy to all Wickedness and wicked Men, whose Companies he shunn'd, and whom he would in no wise shroud, or have in his House or Company. His Wife, a most sober, chaste, and godly Matron: His House and Household another Church, in which was exercised all Godliness and Virtue: No one Person being in his House which did not, from Time to Time, give an Account of his Faith and Religion, and also did live accordingly. And as he had a Care for the good Success in Religion, so had he also for the Direction of the Government in Ecclesiastical Causes. And because he was not skilful therein, neither would be hindered from his godly Studies, and be incumbered with such worldly Matters, which nevertheless he would have done in all Uprightness, Justice, and Equity, he sent to *Oxford* for a Learned Man to be his Chancellor; and, by the Ministry of the Writer hereof — [*viz.* Mr. *Hoker*, or *Hooker*] — he procured and obtained one Mr. *Robert Weston*, Doctor of the Civil Law, and afterwards Lord Chancellor of *Ireland*, unto whom he committed his Consistory, and the whole Charge of his Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction; allowing unto him not only all the Fees thereunto appertaining, but also lodged and found him, his Wife, Family, Horse, and Man, within his own House, and gave him a yearly Pension of 40 l. And surely the Bishop was no more godly and careful of his Part, concerning Preaching, but this Man also was as diligent and severe in doing of his Office, without Reproach of being affectionated or corrupted. And notwithstanding this good Man, now a blameless Bishop, lived most godly and vertuously, yet the Common People, whose old Bottles would receive no new Wine, could not brook or digest him, for no other Cause but because he was a Preacher of the Gospel, an Enemy to Papistry, and a Married Man. Many Devices were attempted against him for his Confusion, sometimes

sometimes by false Suggestions, sometimes by open Railings and false Libels, sometimes by secret Backbitings, and in the End practised his Death by Impoisoning; but, by the Providence of God, the Snares were broken, and he delivered. After that he had been Bishop about three Years K. *Edward* died; and then, Q. *Mary* having the Crown, the Religion was alter'd, and he deprived. And, notwithstanding the Malice of the Prelates and Archpapistes was most bitter against him, and who had sworn his Death, yet, by the Goodness of God, he was most miraculously preserved, and delivered from out of their Hands, at the Sute and by the Means of the King of *Denmark*, who so earnestly sued, and so often wrote to the Queen for him, that he was delivered, and sent unto him; with whom after he had stay'd a while, he went again into *Germany* unto the Palsegrave, who most lovingly received him, placed him again in his former Benefice of *Burghsaver*, where he continued until the Death of Queen *Mary*. And then the Preaching of the Gospel being again received, and having a free Passage, he returned into *England*, but would never return to his Bishopric, notwithstanding it was reserved for him, and sundry Times offered him, but lived a private Life, continuing in *London*, preaching and teaching the Gospel, so long as the Strength of his Body would permit; and at length, being very old and stricken in Years, he died, and was honourably buried in S. *Magnus* Church, in *London*.

XLIV.

JOHAN VOISEIE, after the Deprivation of *Miles Coverdale*, was restored to this Church, and, for the better settling of the Romish Religion, did here stay for a while: But his Mind was addicted to his own Country, that he returned thither, and made his onely Abode there, practising there what he could to have the making of Kerfies to come to some Effect; but the same, being more chargeable than profitable, came to small Effect. This Man, being very * old, died, in his own || House, with a Pang, and was buried in his Parish Church there, Anno 1555. JAMES

* Aged 103. || Sutton-Colfield in Warwickshire.

XLV.

JAMES TROBLEFIELD succeeded Bishop Voiseie, and was consecrated *Anno* 1556. He was a Gentleman born, and of a good House, very gentle and courteous. He professed Divinity, but most zealous in the Romish Religion, and yet nothing cruel nor bloody. And yet, that he might not seem to do nothing, he was contented to persecute and condemn a guiltless poor silly Woman, named *Agnes Pirest*, for Religion and Heresy, and who was burned in *Southbinghay* † for the same. It was laid to her Charge, as doth appear by an Indictment taken at *Launceston die lunæ in quarta septima quadragesimæ anno Phillipi & Mariæ secundo & tertio*, before *William Stanford*, then Justice of the Assize, that she should deny the real Presence in the Sacrament of the Altar; and that the same was but a Sign and a Figure of Christ's Body; and that none doth eat really the Body of Christ, but spiritually. He was very careful to recover some Part of the Lands of his Bishopric which his Predecessor wasted; and did obtain of *Q. Mary*, to him and his Successors, the Fee-Farm of the Manor of *Crediton*. After that he had been Bishop about two Years *Q. Mary* died, and he was deprived, and lived after a private Life.

XLVI.

WILLIAM ALLEIN, in the second Year of *Q. Elizabeth* was chosen Bishop, and installed the 6th of *August*, 1561. In all *Q. Mary's* Time (which were called *The Marian Days*) he travelled from Place to Place in the North Country, where he was not known; and, sometimes by practising of Physick, and sometimes by teaching of Scholars, he picked out a poor Living for himself and his Wife; and so continued, being not known to have been a Priest, during all *Q. Mary's* Time: After whose Death he went to *London*, and there did read Divinity Lecture in *Paul's* very learnedly, and to his great Commendation; and from whence he was taken and made Bishop of

† Or, as now written *Southernhay*.

of this City. He was very well learned universally; but his chief Study and Profession was in Divinity and in the Tongues. And being made Bishop he rebated no Part of his former Travels, but spent his Time very godly and vertuous. Upon every Holy Day, for the most part, he preached; and upon the Week Days he would and did read a Lecture of Divinity. The Residue of his Time, and free from his necessary Business, he spent in his private Studies, and wrote fundry Books, whereof his Prelections, or Lectures, which he did read in *Paul's*, and his Poor Man's Library, he caused to be imprinted. The like he would have done with his *Hebrew Grammar*, and other his Works, if he had lived. He was well stored, and his Library well replenished, with all the best Sort of Writers, which most gladly he would impart and make open to every good Scholar and Student, whose Company and Conference he did most desire and imbrace. He seemed to the first Appearance to be a rough and austere Man; but in very Truth a very courteous, gentle, and an affable Man; at his Table full of honest Speeches, joined with Learning and Pleasantness, according to the Time, Place, and Company; at his Exercises, which for the most part was at Bowls, very merry and pleasant, void of all Sadness, which might abate the Benefit of Recreation; loth to offend, ready to forgive, void of Malice, full of Love, bountiful in Hospitality, liberal to the Poor, and a Succourer of the Needy; faithful to his Friend, and courteous to all Men; a Hater of Covetousness, and an Enemy to all evil and wicked Men, and lived an honest, a godly, and a virtuous Life. Finally, he was endued with many notable good Gifts and Vertues; only he was somewhat credulous, and of a hasty Belief, and of light Credit; which he did oftentimes mislike and blame in himself. In his latter Time he waxed somewhat gross, and his Body full of Humours, which did abate much of his wonted Exercises; and having been Bishop about eight Years, he died the 1st of *April*, 1570, and was buried in his own Church.

XLVII.

WILLIAM BRADBRIDGE, Dean of *Sarisbury*, was the next Bishop, and consecrated at *Lambeth* by *Matthew Parker*, Archbishop of *Canterbury*, the 18th of *March*, 1570. He was a Professor of Divinity, but not taken to be so well grounded as he persuaded himself. He was zealous in Religion, but not so forwards as he was wished to be. In his latter Days he delighted to dwell in the Country; which was not so much to his liking, as troublesome to his Clergy, and to such as had any Sutes unto him. It was thought he died very rich; but, after his Death, it proved otherwise. He died suddenly, no body being about him, at *Newton-Ferris*, the ninth Year of his Bishopric, upon the 29th of *July*, 1578, and was buried in his own Church.

XLVIII.

JOHN WOLTON, now living — [*i. e.* in 1583.], next after *Bradbridge*, was called to be Bishop of the See, and consecrated at *Lambeth*, by *Edmond Grendall*, Archbishop of *Canterbury*, in *August* 1579. He is a Professor of Divinity, and a Preacher of the Gospel, and universally seen in all good Letters. Great good Things are looked and hoped for at his Hands, and that, he being now made a Watchman over the House of *Israel*, and a Shepherd over the Lord's Flock, to be a Minister of the Gospel, and a Disposer of God's holy Mysteries, will attend the same, and perform the Office of a true Bishop, in preaching in Season and out of Season, not by Constraint or slowly, but willingly and gladly; not for filthy Lucre, but of a ready Mind: By leading an unrepachable Life, to be the Example of good Works, in all Sobriety, Patience, Gentleness, and Integrity. And that he living godly in this Life, may not only have — [*leave*] — a good Report to the Posterity, but also look for the blessed Hope and Appearing of the Glory of God and of our Saviour JESUS CHRIST, that when he shall present himself and his Talent, the People of God, before the High and Chief Shepherd, they may all enter into the Lord's Joy, and receive an incorruptable Crown of Glory.

A
P A M P H L E T
OF THE
OFFICES and DUTIES
OF EVERY
Particular Sworn Officer
OF THE
City of *EXCESTER*;

COLLECTED

By JOHN VOWELL, alias HOKER, Gent.
Chamberlain of the same.

NUMB. 30.

*Who so ever sweareth an Oath to bind himselfe, he shall not break
his Promise.*

P S A L. Cxxvij. verse 1.

Except the Lord keep the City, the Watchman waketh but in vain.

Originally printed in 1584.

T

To the Right Worshipful the Maior, Bailiffs,
Recorder, Aldermen, and all others the Sworn
Officers of the City of *Excester*.

IT is most truly written by the Antient Father *Lactantius* (Right Worshipful) that God made Man for two Causes: The one that he should acknowledge and confess him to be the True and Immortal GOD, and to honour him in all Holiness and Righteousness: The other was for Man's own sake, that each one should love and defend the other. For if of One Man, whom God made, all others had their Offspring, then are all they Brethren, and of one and the same Blood. But for Brethren to be divided, and not to love one the other, it is most unnatural, and execrable before God and Man. And for as much as such is the State and Condition of Man, that he was neither borne for himself alone, nor yet can live by himself alone, it is most necessary that he do endeavour himself unto those Ends for which he was made and created. That is, that he do first and chiefly serve and honour the Eternal God (for whose Honour he was made) in all Holiness and Righteousness; and then to yield unto Man (to whose Comfort he was borne) those Offices of Humanity whereby Man's Society is conserved: Which do stand and consist in this, that every one do prosecute another, in all Benevolence, Beneficence, Gratefulness, and Humanity. For whoso is not thus affected doth degenerate from the true Nature of Man in his first Creation, and is become worse than the Brute-Beast. Wherefore, in the former Ages, not only the Children of God, and the Professors of his Word, have been careful herein, but the Gentiles also, and the Nations which knew not God, have been earnest to maintain the Common Society, and to perform one to the other all Offices of Humanity. For, as *Cicero* saith, *Nil magis ad humanæ vitæ societatem tuendam, et ad amicitias conciliandas et confirmandas*

confirmandas adiuvat; ' Nothing doth more nourish Love, and
' preserve Common Society, than Goodwill performed in the Of-
' fices of Humanity.' Whoso then is careless herein, and break-
eth the Bonds hereof, he is, as the godly Father saith, *Nefarius*
paricida, et omnium pessimus.

This is so excellent a Virtue, so much tending to the Honour
of God, so agreeable to Nature, and so most necessary for Man.
As it had his Beginning and was ingrafted in Man, even in his
first Creation, so hath it had his Effect among good Men in all
Ages, and in all well-governed Cities and Commonwealths,
even among the very Nations: Whereof to recite many Exam-
ples which are to be drawn from the *Israelites*, *Persians*, *Affy-
rians*, *Romans*, and sundry other Nations, it were too long and
almost an infinite Discourse. And therefore, leaving all them,
I will come to this Realm of *England*, our own Native Country,
which, though it be the remotest Island in all the Ocean Seas,
and taken, as it were, for a new World of itself, yet is it not
inferior to any Nation or People whatsoever, either in true Re-
ligion towards God, or in Dutifulness to the Prince and Magi-
strates, or in any Action tending to the Conservation of the
Common Society, and the nourishing of Goodwill among Men.
And besides that this Land hath these Things in common with
others, yet it hath also certain particular Branches and Usages of
Benevolence, Love, and Goodwill among Private Men, peculiar
to themselves, and which in other Countries is not used. Among
many others, I do note and observe the old and antient Man-
ner of giving New-Years Gifts. I know the *Persians* of certain
Times did with great Reverence offer Presents unto their Kings.
And the *Parthians* would never come empty-handed before
their Princes. And likewise the *Roman* Soldiers would at the
Beginning of every Year present their Emperors with some one
T 2 Thing

Thing or other. Even as the Noblemen of *England* for ever from Time out of Mind have done, and yet upon New-Year's Day do humbly present to the Kings and Princes of the same, some Strene or Present, dutifully witnessing a bounden Duty of their Part, as also the Princes, by a like Gift returned, do testify their Goodwill of the other Part. But the like Course of Courtisy, Beneficence, and Benevolence, to be used among the Common People, and the Inferior Sort, among themselves, I take it to be proper and only used within this Realm of *England*. For, besides the yearly Harvest-Dinners, and other like Meetings, unto which one Neighbour conviteth another; the Tenants also to their Landlords, the Servants to their Masters, and one Neighbour to another, fail not at New-year's-tide to congratulate a good Success of the Year past, and wish the like of the Year to come, with some Present or Gift: But among none is it more firmly observed than by the Babes or Little Children, named God-children, who at that Time make their repair to their Compatres, named Godfathers and Godmothers; before whom they do humbly kneel down, and, by the Name of a *Blessing*, do, as it were, give Thanks, because they were Witnesses to their Baptism, and do crave their Helps for their Increase and Continuance in that Faith which they promised for them: And therewith do present unto their said Godfathers and Godmothers some one Thing or other, in Token of their Thankfulness, which Gifts in the Elder Ages were, for the most part, Acorns, Nuts, and Apples.

Of this Manner and Usage ensued many and great Commodities, both common and private, which tended to the Benefit of the Commonwealth, and to the Increase of the Society of Man: For the Acorns, Nuts, and the Kernels of Apples, were then used to be cast and sowed in the Ground, whereof in
Course

Course of Time did grow and Increase the great Abundance of Timber, and the Plenty of Fruits, which their Posterity could not lack, and the Commonwealth could not want. Further, it bred such a Love between the Godfathers and the Children, as, next unto the natural Parents, could not be a firmer; the one always reverencing, and other loving, each other. The Parents also, being, as it were, allied by this kind of Courtesy, do call one the other *Goffop* [God's Holp]; as who saith *God's Helpers*, they loving as Brethren each one the other most sincerely and friendly. And their Children and Offsprings, treading the Trace of their Parents, are affected one to other as Brethren of one and the same Family. These and such other like Things when I had considered, it came to my Mind and Remembrance how that I myself have been sometimes a Foster-Child to this City and Commonwealth, being a Free Citizen born, and descended of Parents who, in their Times, sat in the Chiefest Seat and Chair of Government; and was by them in my tender Years and Minority committed and commended to the Credit and Government of the Magistrates of this City. Wherefore, as unto dear Parents, I thought it my Part, not only as a Foster-Child, but rather as a natural Son, to yield some Remembrance of Duty unto You. And therefore, taking the Opportunity of the Time present, and the Occasion of some Things otherwise offered, I have thought good, by way of a Strene or New-Year's-Gift, to offer and present unto you this little Pamphlet. Which in outward Appearance is slender as the Hazel-nut; but as by breaking the Shell you shall find a Kernel, so if you open this Book you shall learn the Things most expedient and necessary for you to know. It is the Abridgement or Summary of such special Points as be incident to every of your particular Officers; which you ought not only to know and to understand, but also to see to be done and executed.

ted. You have in an open Assembly given your Oath, and sworn by the Name of the Almighty and Eternal GOD, and protested by the Great *JEHOVAH*, so to do: Wherefore to be remiss, negligent, or careless therein, you shall not only offend against the Commonwealth, but most grievously sin against the DIVINE MAJESTY, whose Name by your Follies is dishonoured, and which so great a Sin cannot of his Justice be unpunished nor unrevengeed.

And forasmuch as the Magistrates are God's Ministers, Substitutes, and Vicars, upon Earth, and from whom all Power and Authority is ordained, I am here, upon some Occasion, to advertise and remember you, that there be Two special Things required at your Hands. The one is concerning GOD and his Service in Religion, the other concerning Yourselfes and your Office in Politike Government. The latter dependeth upon the first, and cannot have any good Success where the first is not kept and regarded: For, as a Learned Man at the Common Laws saith, "Seeing that Laws must be obeyed for GOD, it followeth of Necessity that He which will have them to be obeyed rightly must first learn to honour GOD truely: Or else where this Foundation faileth (even as a House builded upon Sand) the other falleth." It is, therefore, and ought to be, your most chief and special Care, that not only you yourselfes, but all and every such as be under your Government, do honour and serve the everlasting GOD in Religion, and according to his Prescripts and Commandments; and then of Consequence your Politike Government must and shall prosper and have Success. And that you are thus bounden to do, read the Volumes of *Moses*, who was Magistrate under GOD of the *Israelites*, and he did both deliver them Laws how they should honour the True God of *Israel*, as also set down Punishments for the Breakers thereof.

thereof. The like, after him, did *Joshua*, and the Judges over *Israel*, and the Kings over *Jebuda*; as in the Books of the Judges and in the Chronicles of the Kings doth appear.

For all Things to be well done must take their Beginning from Religion, as the godly Divine saith, *Nulla politia feliciter constitui potest, nisi prima cura pietatis sit.* Preposterous then is the Judgement of those who would have that Religion should pertain only to the Bishops and the Clergy, and the Civil Magistrate should deal only in Matters of Policy. But the Law of *Moses*, and the Law of the Gospel, doth determine the contrary, and chargeth the Civil Magistrate with both, making the same to be his Talent, for which he must as a good Steward make his Accompt. If this be true, as it is most true, how careful and vigilant ought the Magistrates of this City to be, that the People committed to their Government should not thus in the Light of the Gospel walk in Darkness, and live most dissolutely and loosely? I know the Gospel is preached most sincerely, and the Sacraments administer'd most purely, and yet small is the Number which embrace the same sincerely, and live thereunto accordingly. For look you upon the Face of this Commonwealth, and you shall find it in as bad or worse State than was the State of the Commonwealth of the *Israelites* in the Time of *Ezekiel*, or rather worse concerning Religion. For *Atchieves*, Papists, and Blasphemers of GOD's Holy Name, swarm as thick as Butterflies, without Check or Controlment. The Sabbath of the Lord appointed to be kept holy, and we commanded to sanctify the same, and to give ourselves to the Exercise of good Works, to be diligent in Prayers, and to be attentive to the hearing of Sermons, is of all other Days most licentious spent in Sin and Wickedness, the same being counted so much the more holy as it is spent most idly and wickedly.

kedly. For be the Preachers never so godly, and earnest to call, let all the great Bells of *St. Peter's* ring out never so loud, there will not be half so many gained into the Church as one with a Pipe and a Whistle shall gain into the Streets to see vain and foolish Spectacles. For let there be a Bear-baiting, a Bull-baiting, an Enterlude, or any such Vanity, every Man is in Haste to run headlong to it, and the Time never too long to have their Fill thereof. And yet if there be no such Plays or Games, they will rather sit idle in the Streets than be well occupied in the Churches.

Even as it was said merrily of a Preacher, that, when he saw the People to depart out of the Church from the Sermon, spake unto his Auditory, saying, " Good People! It is said " there is a Man in the Moon; but believe it not, for there is " no such Thing. But if you will go forth into the Church- " yard, you shall find twenty Knaves in the Sun." And this is most true: For whensoever there is any Sermon, send you one out into the Streets, and there shall you find the greatest Number, some to knock their Heels against the Stalls, some to walk up and down the Streets, some sitting at the Tavern gulping and drinking, some piping and dancing, and, finally, none well occupied. This is most true, the Matter is apparent, the Fault is known, a Redress is wished; but nothing is done; which Thing is much bewailed by the good and godly. It hath been oftentimes moved by some one Man of great Honour, Calling, and Authority, it hath been advised and persuaded by most learned and godly Preachers, and it is wished by all good and godly Men, that some one good and learned Preacher were appointed in this City, who upon the Sabbath-Days might catechize the Children, teach the Old, and instruct the People, whereby they might be reclaimed to God, nurtured in Religion,

on, and amended in Life. But *Durus est hic sermo*, This is a hard saying, and who can abide it? And therefore many be the Devices to stop so good a Course: Some altogether being like to the *Aspis*, who stoppeth both her Ears against the Voice of the Enchanter, alledging that there is too much Preaching. And of their Opinion am I, that Preaching is too much, but to no other than to the lost Sheep of *Israel*, and to the Children of Condemnation: For, as *St. Paul* saith, If our Gospel be hid, *Iis qui pereunt est absconditum*, it is hid to them that are lost. The Bread of the Angels was unfavoury, but to those who were to perish whiles the Flesh which they lusted was in their Teeth. Some do like very well to have the Catechising, so they might be no Contributors, and so would shift it over unto the Churchmen, as though it were their only Duty to do it. And these shew themselves to be the Children of the corrupted *Adam*, who, being reprov'd for his Transgression, chargeth his Wife with it, and she shuffeth it over to the Devil: And so in this, every Man so thrusteth it one from another, that nothing is done. And what will be the End thereof it is easy to be known, if Men would either believe the Book of God, or consider and call to Remembrance what hath befallen in the like in Times past.

The Poets among their many Gods have devised and imagined that one of them hath two Faces, the one before looking forward, and the other behind looking backwards; and this God they call *Janus*; of whom the Month *January* taketh his Name, and the First Day of the same is called New-year's Day. By this is meant and moralized a Man of great Wisdom, Knowledge and Experience, and who looking to the Times past, and observing the Events thereof, doth forecast the Sequel of the like to come. If you then, as every wise Magistrate ought to do, would as *Janus* look back into the Old World, and read the

Books and Histories of that Age, shall find that *Noah*, the Preacher of Righteousness, did teach and persuade the People to Repentance almost One Hundred Years together ; but, because they were weary of his Preaching, and would no more thereof, God sendeth the great Deluge and drowned the whole World. *Sodoma* would not listen to the Counsel of *Loth*, wherefore God with Fire and Brimstone from Heaven consumed them to Ashes. The foolish *Israelites*, not contented with such Incenses and Manner of Religion as God by *Moses* had ordained, would needs have another of their own Device ; and in offering the same the Earth opened and swallowed them up all alive. The same People were fed with *Manna*, the Food of Angels, which God from Heaven provided for them, and they waxed weary thereof, and would needs have Change of Meats (as we of Religion) ; but the Meat was no sooner in their Mouths than was God's Vengeance upon them, and struck them with a great Plague.

The foolish *Israelite*, neglecting the observing of the Lord's Sabbath, would needs follow his worldly Causes and gather Wood, had his Reward and was stoned to Death. The whole Nation of the *Jews* were called by the Lord *JESUS* to the Doctrine of the Gospel ; but they would not understand nor accept the Time of their Visitation, wherefore they felt the heavy Hand of God, and were utterly consumed with Famine, Pestilence, and the Sword ; and the City and Temple (whereof they made a great Advantage) was not one Stone thereof left upon another. The Cities of *Capernaum*, which reached up even unto the Heavens, *Ephesus*, *Corinth*, *Antiochia*, and several others, among whom the Apostles had planted the Gospel, when they loathed it, and waxed weary thereof, the Lord loathed and waxed weary of them, and all they, some by Earthquakes, some by Fire, and many by the Enemies, were utterly wasted and consumed.

sumed. And as he hath thus done with Cities, Towns, and Countries, so hath he shewed the like Power upon mighty Princes and Monarchs, which have not hearkened unto his Voice, nor obeyed his Commandments. *Nebuchadnezer, Pharo, Herod, Caligula, Domitianus, Trajanus, Hadrianus*, and a Number of other Atheists, who denied the Lord God, his Christ, and his Gospel, he tormented them with such Plagues, Torments, and Troubles, that of their miserable Lives they made most miserable Ends. If then the Lord God thus dealt with all the Nations of the World, and with his own peculiar People, if he had not spared the Children of his own Family, nor favoured the Vineyard of his own planting, nor yet regarded his own Country, nor accounted of his own City, what shall it be thought he will do with this ingrateful City of *Exeter*, which have tasted of infinite his Blessings, and have a long Time been fed with his heavenly *Manna*, and yet have and do daily contemn his Laws, cast away his Commandments, and be weary of his Doctrine, what is it that we can justly claim or challenge for ourselves why the Lord should not shorten his Hand, and be no longer favourable unto us? Is it our Antiquity? Be it that this City is very antient, and was builded at the first coming of *Brutus* into this Land, about Two Thousand Five Hundred Years past *, before or when *London* was; yet the Cities of *Enoch, Nineve, Babylon, Corinth, Athens, Troia, and Carthage*, were long before it.

Is it for Religion? I grant that the Gospel is truly preached, and the Sacraments sincerely ministred. And so was it at *Hierusalem, Antiochia, Corinth, Ephesus*, and many other Places. Is it because it is pleasantly seated, and standeth upon the Top of a Hill, in the open Prospect of the World, and near the Seas? So was *Hierusalem, Capernaum, Tyrus*, and sundry other Cities.

* viz. then, in 1584, when the Author thus wrote

Cities. Is it because it is rich, and inhabited with rich Merchants and Occupiers? So was *Tyrus* and *Sydon*, and others. Is it for the Fertility of the Soil, and the abundance of all Things wherewith God hath blessed it? So was the whole Land of *Palestina*, who for the great Blessings of God in Nature was said to be a Land to flow with Milk and Honey. And yet all these Peoples, Nations, and Countries, loathing his Word for their Unthankfulness, and not serving God in true Religion, were utterly destroyed by the mighty Hand of God, and now remaineth scarce any Sign or Memorial of them.

And shall this City of *Excester*, which is but a four Grape, a wild Olive, and is of his good Mercy ingrafted in the Place of the natural Branch, and yet hath done the like or worse Transgressions, shall she, I say, be free from the like Punishments? No, no: Although God in Mercy have long and oftentimes borne and winked at the Sins of this City, yet he will not so do forever. It is an old Saying, *Go the Pot never so often to the Water, yet at length it cometh home broken.* Sundry and many Times (like unto the City of *Hierusalem*) hath it been in great Perils by the *Brytans*, *Romans*, *Saxons*, and *Danes*, and many-times hard assailed with intestine Wars, and the Lord hath always, from Time to Time, delivered it: But they still continuing or rather increasing in Sin, have and do daily grieve the Lord, and do accoler at his heavy Hand. Be you but indifferent Viewers of your present State, and be you your own Judges, and you shall not deny (unless you be like the Fairies called *Lamia*, whose Nature is, that being within their own House, they be blind and cannot look upon their own Faults, but being abroad can see every other Man's Doings,) but that Pride, Covetousness, Whoredom, Malice, Envy, Excess, Gluttony, Drunkenness, Usury, Extortion, Dissimulation, and Hypocrisy, and almost

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Well, you are God's Ministers, and he hath appointed you to be his *Moyſes* unto us, and therefore you must in this dangerous Case stand before him between him and the People, and likewise to stand in the Middle of the People between the Living and the Dead; whereby is meant, that you are not only to present your selves before the Lord in a perfect and a pure Religion, but also must procure and provide your *Aarons* and godly Preachers, who, having in their Breast-plate *Urim* and *Thumim*, do catechise, teach, and instruct your Citizens to know God, and the Grounds of Christian Religion, whereby they may be a holy People unto the Lord. And then also you yourselves must be Men of Courage, fearing God, dealing truly, and hating Covetousness; and so to stand in the middle of the People, between the Quick and the Dead, that when the People do come unto you, you do execute Justice, and judge uprightly in punishing the Offender, and acquitting the Innocent. For your Direction in these Two Points you have, for the first, God's Holy Word and Testament, which the Lord hath commanded
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should never depart out of your Mouths and continual Meditations ; for the other, you have fundry good and politike Constitutions and ancient Ordinances of this your City, out whereof I have drawn this little Pamphlet and Strene, referring you for your further Instructions to the Great Leger and Black Book, wherein at large I have set down whatsoever concerneth the State of this City, and the Government of the same.

Which good Courses if you will follow, notwithstanding the Ship of your Commonwealth being overladen with Sin and Iniquity, it is in great Danger of Shipwreck, and to be overwhelmed, yet Christ will be in Readiness to calm the Seas, and to save both you and your Ship, if you shall awake him, and convert unto him. And then this your antient City, which hath continued for these many Hundreds of Years, shall as the Mount *Syon* be firm, and never be moved ; but God shall save, keep, and defend it, that you and your Posterity may still dwell in it, and have it in Possession, and you yourselves, when you are called to an Account, shall, for the well imploying of your Talent, be rewarded, and enter into the Joy of your Lord. And thus commending myself and this my Strene unto your good Acceptation, I do take my Leave.

Your Chamberlain

and assured in the Lord,

Exon, the last of the Old Year
and the Beginning of the
New, 1583.

John Hoker.



The Office and Duty of a FREEMAN.



HE Freeman is the chiefest and principal Member of the Commonwealth of the City: And, as it were, out of his Loins do proceed all such as be Officers, and have any Government or Charge in the same. And albeit there be Three Degrees of Freemen, yet they do all enjoy the same and the like Privileges; and none can use or exercise any Trade, Art, Calling, or Office in the City, unless he be first sworn to the Liberty of the City. Many are the Points with which the Freeman is charged, and is bound to observe; but the most special are these.

First, He is to be true and faithful to the Queen's Majesty, her Heirs and Successors, and under Her to be obedient to the Maior, Bailiff, and Commonalty.

Also, he is to keep the Peace, and defend the Liberties, of the City.

Also, he is to come before the Maior and Common Council, whensoever he shall be thereunto required.

Also, he shall not sue nor implead any Franchised Man of the City but only in the Courts of the City, in all Matters determinable in the same, except for lack of Justice.

Also, he shall not be a Retainer, nor wear the Cloth, Livery, Badge, nor Cognisance, of any Person being not a Franchised Person.

Also, he is to be justifiable and guildhable to all Scots and Lots, Taxes and Tallages, and all other Contributions.

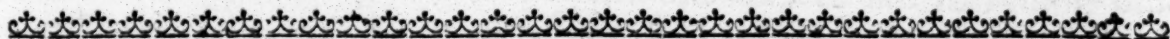
Also, he may not colour any Man's evil Doings, nor any Foreigners Goods, whereby any Hurt or Prejudice may turn to the

the Queen's Majesty, or to the Magistrates and State of the City.

Also, he must come yearly to the Election of a Maior and Officers, and then and there to give his Voice, if he have no reasonable Cause of Absence.

Also, he must be always loyable, and of good Behaviour; and no longer shall he be a Franchised Man than he is so, neither shall he enjoy the Liberties of the City than when he is resident and dwelling within the same, or the Franchises thereof.

Sundry other Articles are incident to his Charge, which partly in the Oath of a Freeman, and partly in the general Lieger of the City, are contained.



The Office of the MAIOR of the City of Excester.

THE Office of the Maior is the highest and the chiefest in the City, and is named in the Latin *Maior*, and in the Saxon *Mayer*, both which import one and the same Thing; namely, one more excellent and above the rest. And as he is in Authority above all others, so much the more is he in Godliness, Wisdom, and Knowledge to excel and exceed them. He is the Eye and the Head of the whole Common-weal; and therefore must he see and understand all Things incident and appertaining both to the common Government of the City, and to the Preservation of the Publick State. His Office consisteth in many Branches, of which some in Particularity are as followeth.

First, he is not only to be godly and religious in his own Person, but also to have care that all others under his Government be the like. If therefore there be any Inhabitant that do maintain any false Religion or Heresy, or do not resort to his Church,

Church, at or upon the Sabbath-Days, he is to punish him, or to take order with him, according to the Laws.

Also, he is, upon Sundays and Holy Days, to send abroad his Officers, to see if any be sitting upon the Stalls, walking in the Streets, or sitting in Taverns, or using any Gaming, at the Time of Preaching and Prayers; and to compel them either to go to the Church, or commit them to Ward, or to take further Order with them as shall be thought good.

Also, he must, upon the first Friday after he hath taken the Oath, cause to be proclaimed his general Proclamation for and concerning the Government of the City.

And when any Proclamation is to be made for Her Majesty, or otherwise, it is to be done in decent Manner, namely in the open Market and Assembly of the People, the Sword-bearer with the Sword, and the Sergeants with their Maces, standing before him and his Brethren.

Also, he is with the Bailiffs, upon every Monday through the whole Year to keep the Queen's Court, in the open Guildhall, and then and there uprightly to administer Justice, and to give true Judgements in all Matters depending before them, and to see true Records to be kept.

Also, he is to see the Peace and common Tranquility to be kept and observed, and the Offenders punished.

Also he, and his Officers, is to attend weekly the Markets, for all manner of Corn and Victuals, that the same be wholesome and good, and at reasonable Prices.

And that no Victuals nor Wares be forestalled, ingrossed, or regrated, contrary to the Laws.

Also, that he do, from Time to Time, as Occasion shall serve, take the View and Search of all manner of Measures, Weights, and Vessels, whether they be according to the Statute; and being defective to reform the same.

Also, upon every Monday to give to the Bakers the Assise of Bread, and weekly to examine and weigh their Bread, whether the same be according to the Assise given or not.

Also, that he give to the Brewers the Assise of their Drink, and to set reasonable Prices for and upon the same.

Also, he shall command his Stewards, Constables, and other his Officers, to make search, every Month once, in all and every suspect Place, for Players at Games unlawful, Keepers of ill Rule, Night-watchers, vagrant, naughty, and suspect, and such Strangers as who cannot give Account for their honest Life, and them to commit to Ward, to be kept or be punished according to their Offence, and by Order of the Laws.

Also, he shall take Bonds and sufficient Securities of every Innkeeper, Tipler, and for keeping of good Rule in their Houses.

Also, he is yearly to keep Law Courts, and cause Inquisition to be taken of all Things concerning the State of the City, and Liberties of the same.

Also, he is to see the Night-watches, in the Times appointed, to be kept.

Also, he shall yearly make his Perambulations round about the City, and about the Limits and Bounds of the same; and shall also cause the like Perambulations to be made every Rogation Week about the Limits and Bounds of the County.

Also, he shall twice in the Year, at Michaelmas and Easter, visit the Alms-houses of the City, and examine whether the same be ordered as it appertaineth.

Also, he shall yearly call to account all the Collectors for the Poor in every Parish, and to see that the Poor be provided for, according to the Statute.

Also, the Maior, being the Escheter of the City, and Warden in Socage, is from Time to Time to cause, at every Monday's Court, Presentment to be made of the Death of every Citizen
and

and Inhabitant, what Heirs and Orphans be left behind him, and that thereupon he do take order for the Preservation of the Orphans, and of all such Goods and Rents as do grow unto them, as also not to admit any Person to the Freedom of the City, but that he be sworn unto the Order of the Orphans.

Also, he is, at all Time and Times convenient, to call and assemble the Common Council of the XXIIII unto the Council Chamber, when Matter and Occasion shall require; and then and there to determine what by their Devise and Counsel is to be determined.

Also, he is then and there to see and command every one of the said XXIIII, and all other Persons coming there, to behave and use themselves modestly, soberly, and in all good Manner, according to the Orders of the said House: And whoso shall offend therein to be punished accordingly.

Also, he is to appoint Six of the 'foresaid XXIIII to be Auditors as well of the Account of the General Receiver, as of all other Accounts, for and concerning any of the City's Rents, Receipts, or Revenues.

Also, he may not be absent from out of the City any Night, except it be for some necessary and urgent Cause; and in his Absence he is to appoint his Lieutenant in Writing under his Hand and Seal.

Divers other Things do belong to his Office, which more at large are to be seen in the great Lieger-Book.

The Office of the STEWARDS.

THE Stewards are very ancient Officers of this City, and were in the Time of the Saxons named in Latin *Præpositi*, and in the Saxon Tongue *Portegreves*; that is to say, the wise,
X 2 grave

grave Governors of the City or Town. After the Conquest they were named *Præfecti*, which in the *Norman* and *French* Tongue are called *Provosts*. The Name of the Person is worn out, but the Court of their Jurisdiction retaineth his former Name, being called the Provost Court. After this, in respect to the Courts kept before them, they were called *Senescalli*, that is to say Stewards; and not long after, because they, or some one of them, was put in Trust for collecting of the City's Revenues, they were called *Ballivi*, Bailiffs. These Two latter Names are still retained, and indifferently used, at these Presents. Their Offices consist in many Points, whereof some in particular as followeth.

First, they all, or Two at the least of them, are to be attendant, present, and sitting, as well with the Maior upon every Monday, in the Court of the Guildhall, as also in their own Court, called the Provost Court, which they may adjourn and keep, from Day to Day, at their own Will and Pleasure.

Also, they are to see true Records to be kept, true Justice to be ministred, and true Judgements to be given, in all Causes depending in either of the Courts before them.

Also, they are to attend the Maior at his going to the Sermons at S. Peters, upon the Sundays at the Forenoon, and at his going and returning at the Guildhall Courts, upon every Monday, and at the Markets and Proclamations; and upon every Saturday on the Shambles, and at all other Times whensoever they shall be called and required.

Also, forasmuch as they are Clarks of the Market, they are to execute and do what doth appertain to the Clark of the Market, that is to say, That Corn and Victuals brought to the Market be good and wholesome, and sold at Prices reasonable: That no Victuals or Wares brought to the City, or in Market, be forestalled, ingrossed, nor regrated: That all Vessels, Weights, and Measures,

Measures, be viewed and searched, and, being found defective, to be redressed according to the Laws: That Bakers do keep their Assise, and Brewers do sell according to the Price appointed unto them; with many other Articles belonging to the Clark of the Market.

Also, That they do monthly, and as often as Need shall require, make search throughout the City for all lewd, idle, and vagrant Persons, for all Players at unlawful Games, for Night-watchers and suspected Persons, and for all Manner of Misdemeanours whatsoever.

Also, That they do see the Peace and Tranquility to be kept, and that every Inhabitant have in Readiness some sufficient Weapon in his House for keeping of the same, and restraining of the disloyal and unruly Persons.

Also, That they do see and cause all Annoyances, which they know of themselves, or which be presented of others, to be removed and amended.

Also, That at all Times, when Night-watches be appointed, they, or some one of them, be at the Guildhall, and to give Charge to the Watchmen.

Also, That they nor any of them be absent any one Night out of the City, without Licence of the Maior, and that, at all Times, two at the least be still continuing within the City.]

The Residue of their Charge is contained in the Black Lieger.

The Office of the RECEIVER.

THE Receiver is always one of the Four Bailiffs, and hath the like and the same Charge as every of them hath: But the Office of the Receiver is particular to himself, and none is chosen thereunto except he be one of the Number of the Common

mon Council, or XXIV. And concerning this Office, these are the Things which are specially required of him.

First, That he do collect and gather all such Sum or Sums of Money, Rents, Revenues, Issues, and Profits, belonging to the City, as well ordinary as extraordinary, and incident unto his Office and Charge.

Also, he is to disburse, defray, and pay, all such Sum and Sums of Money, ordinary and extraordinary, for Charges, Expences, Fees, Rents, Annuities, whatsoever, due and payable by the Chamber of the City ; — so that in extraordinary Charges he have a sufficient Warrant for the same.

Also, he is to have a special Care of the Edifices, Houfings, Buildings, Walls, Water-Conduits, and all other Works of the City, and to see the same to be builded, repaired, and sustained, in all Things needful and necessary, saving that in any new Work he shall not bestow therein above Forty Shillings without the Consent of the Maior and the XXIV.

Also, he shall attend, or cause to be attended, all the Labourers and Workmen in all the City Works, and to see them to be weekly paid and satisfied of their Wages, and thereof to keep a true Book of Accompt.

Also, he shall receive into his Custody by Inventory all the Powder, Shot, Ordinances, Armour, and Artillery, and all other Things belonging to the City, and safely and in good Order to keep the same, and at the Year's End to deliver the same up, or a just Accompt thereof.

Also, he shall keep the Keys of the Council-Chamber, and keep in Safety the Records, Immunities, Evidences, and all other Things there kept, and to be kept, without disclosing of any Secrets thereof.

Also, he shall, after the End of his Year and Office, yield, and deliver, and make, a true and perfect Accompt, before the
Auditors

Auditors appointed, of all his Receipts and Payments, and that the same be fully concluded and determined, before the Election of a new Maior and Officers ; and what he shall be found to owe upon his Account, the same to be forthwith paid.

Also, he shall attend the Common Council, at all Time and Times, whensoever they shall assemble and meet, for, and about, any of the City's Affairs, and not to be absent without some special Cause.



The Office of the RECORDER.

THE Recorder is an Officer of the Best Credit, and in Chiefest Place next to the Maior, and chosen thereunto for his Wisdom, Knowledge, and Learning, that thereby the Government of the City, in each Degree and Estate, should well and orderly be directed. His Name is derived of the Latin Tongue, *Recordator* ; which signifies a Rememberer, or Adviser ; that is to put every Man in Remembrance of his Duty, both according to the Course and Order of the Laws, and according to the Orders and Customs of the City, and to see all Things in Government to be directed accordingly. And because the Use of his Service was continually necessary, therefore in Times past he was ever resident and dwelling within the City, or very near to it, whereby Access at all Times presently was had unto him, for his Advice and Counsel in all Matters of Weight. His Office consisteth chiefly in these Points following.

First, he is to aid, attend, and assist, the Maior and Bailiffs in all their Courts, and to direct the same according to the Course and Order of the Laws, and that Justice be uprightly ministred.

Also he is to see that the Records of the Court be made and enter'd truly, and that they be safely kept and preserved.

Also,

Also he is, at the End of every Year, to see the Records of the Year past, and all Rolls of Accounts, to be brought into the Council-Chamber of the City, and there to be laid up in the Treasury and Place appointed, safely to be conserved.

Also he is to attend the Maior and Common Council, from Time to Time, and at all Times, whensoever he shall be called, and also to be at the Yearly Elections of the Maior and Officers.

Also he is to attend and be at every Quarter Sessions and Gaol-Delivery, if he have not some urgent and necessary Let, and that then he is to appoint some other wise and grave Man in his Stead.

Also he is to defend and maintain the Orphans, and the Liberties, Franchises, and Privileges of the City.

Sundry other Articles be incident to his Charge, which more at large are contained and set down in the Black Book or Lieger.



The Office of the XXIV. or COMMON COUNCIL, and every of them.

THE Common Council of the City, named the XXIV. is a selected and chosen Company of the most wise and gravest Citizens of the City, and who have been tryed, and borne the Office of one of the Bailiffs of the same. They were sometimes XXXVI. in Number, and of which the Maior then was none: But since the Kings of this Realm have reduced them to the Number of XXIV. and thereof the Maior is always one. They have no Authority nor Jurisdiction in any Matters Judicial, be it Civil or Criminal, other than to advise, aid, and assist the Maior and Bailiffs: But they are to maintain, devise, order, and establish, all good Acts, Orders, and Ordinances, as be most convenient

nient and good, for the Preservation of the Body of the Commonwealth, and of ancient Customs, Liberties, and Orders of the same, and of the Rents and Revenues of the City. The particular and most special Points incident to their Charges and Offices are as followeth.

First, They are, upon reasonable Summons, to come and to appear at the Council-Chamber of the said City, as well yearly at the Times appointed and accustomed, for the Election of the Maior and Officers, as at all other Time and Times, when they shall be summoned, upon Pain of such Penalties as by the Orders of this City are limited, unless he have a lawful Cause of Absence.

Also, when they are assembled and come together at the Time appointed, they shall then and there take their proper Place appointed, and in all Modesty, Wisdom, and Sobriety, behave and use themselves, and not to depart from thence, during the Times of their Counsel and Consultations, unless they be licensed, upon Pain of the Penalties already ordered and assessed.

Also, when any Matter is proposed, then every one who is to speak his Mind shall stand up, in all Reverence and dutiful Manner; and then to speak and declare his Opinion uprightly, without any manner of Affection, and as shall be for the best Behoof of the Commonwealth.

Also, whatsoever shall be there concluded, and determined, they are to see the same to be set down, and registred, in their Book of Acts, and before their Departure to hear the same read openly unto them.

Also, they shall not discover nor disclose any of their Secrets, or Counsels, to any Person or Persons, to the Hurt or Prejudice of the City, upon the Pains which be limited, and as by the said Maior and Common-Council shall be further ordered and set down.

Also, they shall not let, fet, demise, sell, nor alienate, any Parts of the City's Lands, Rents, Revenues, or other Commodities, but to and for the best Advantage, Benefit, and Commodity of the City and Commonwealth of the same.

Also, there shall no Assembly be made to pass, do, or conclude, any-thing, under the Number of Twelve Persons at the least, and what shall be agreed upon and concluded by the said whole Assembly, or the most Part of them being present, to be of Effect, and for a perfect Order. Provided, that if in any Matter proposed, the Voices be equal and of like Number, then the Maior shall give his double Voice, and so the Matter to be determined.

Also, none of the XXIV shall misuse or misname one the other in Word or Deed, upon pain of such Penalties as be for such Offences provided.

Also, the said XXIV shall attend and accompany the Maior upon the Festival Days, and upon the Election Days, and to bring him home to his House from S. Peters, and from the Guildhall.

Also, they shall have a special Care and Regard to the Preservation of all the Liberties, Privileges, and Orders of the City, and especially to the Charter of the Orphans, according to the Statute and Ordinance therefore provided.

Also, they shall yearly attend the Maior, for the viewing of the Limits, Bounds, and Walls of the City.

XX

The Office of an ALDERMAN.

THE Alderman is a very antient Officer in all Cities and Towns, and in great Estimation and Credit in the Times of the Saxons and Britons. They were always the most antient,
grave,

grave and wisest Men, and thereof they took their Name, as who saith Elder Men; not altogether in respect of Age, but for their Wisdom, Gravity, and good Counsels. They have been Officers in all the best Commonwealths in all Ages; as in Rome, where they were called *Senators*; in Athens, where they were called *Areopagita*; and in Sparta, and there named *Ephori*; and so the like in all other good Cities. Their Offices were rather inquisitive than judicial, that is, to make Inquiry and Search whether that all Things were in good Order, and what were the Abuses to be amended; which being known and understood, then by their Advice and Counsels, and according to the Laws, Reformation ensued. The Order and Manner of their Inquisitions is the like, or the same, as in Times past was used in this City, and at these Presents is kept and observed in the City of London, and there called by the Name of the *Wardmotes Inquest*. The special Points whereof be as followeth.

First, They are every Month to make a Search throughout their Wards; and twice in the Year to make inquiry, by the Oaths of a Jury, whether that the Peace be kept, and whether every Inhabitant have a Club, Sword, or some other sufficient Weapon, in Readiness, for keeping the Peace, and also whether every Man be assistant, and in Readiness, to help and succour the Officer therein.

Also whether any Stranger, or New-come, be received into any House, and there harboured above a convenient Time.

Also whether any Under-tenants be admitted, without Licence of the Alderman of the Quarter.

Also what Journeymen and Apprentices every Artificer hath, and in what Order.

Also whether there be any Outlaws, Felons, Rioters, Barrators, Nightwatchers, Bawds, Whores, or any mistiving or suspect Persons in the Ward.

Also whether the Maior's Proclamation be observed and kept.

Also whether any Person do break any the Orders to be enquired by the Clarks of the Market; that is, for forestalling, ingrossing, and regrating; whether Victuals be good and wholesome, and sold at Prices reasonable; whether Vessels, Weights, and Measures, be sealed, marked, and true.

Also whether the Bakers do keep the Assise appointed, and whether every one have his Mark upon his Bread.

Also whether any Hostler or Inkeeper do bake his Bread within his House, and sell it.

Also whether the Brewers do brew according to the Maior's Price, and his Vessels do contain their just Contents, and be marked.

Also whether there be any Noisance or Purpeasures in the City, as by setting of Pales, Walls, Stalls, Bulks, Porches, Windows, and such like, whereby any Incroaching is used; or any Timber, Stones, Dunghills or Heaps of Dirt, or any other Thing be cast and laid in the Streets, to the letting or hindering of any Way, or to the Annoisance of any Person.

Also whether any do keep Slaughtering within the City, or do keep and feed any Hogs, Ducks, or any other filthy Beast.

Also whether the Streets be kept clean, and swept twice in the Week at least.

Also whether any House be ruinous, and stand dangerously, and whether any Chimney, Oven, or Fornace, or Backs or Heathes for Fire do stand dangerously and in Peril of Fire, and the same not presented by the Scavenger.

Also whether there be Crooks, Ladders, and Buckets, in Readiness to serve, if Need should be, in Peril of Fire; and whether every Man have in a Readiness a Vessel of Water at his Door when any House is adventured with Fire, and not advertised by the Scavengers.

Also

Also whether any Leprosy or sick Person, Vagabonds or Beggars, do go abroad a begging within the City, other than such as be licensed, and be not brought to the Cage or other Prison.

Also whether every Officer do attend his Office and do his Duty, and whether any do use any Extortion, Bribery, or any inordinate Means by way of Corruption.



The Office of CHAMBERLAIN.

THE Chamberlain is an Officer of a late Erektion, and was made and ordered by Act of Parliament. His Office chiefly and especially concerneth the Orphans, and then consequently in all Things concerning the Government and the State of the Commonwealth: And therefore it is very requisite that he be wise, learned, and well acquainted in all the Orders, Ordinances, Customs, and the whole Estate, of the Commonwealth. The chiefest Points incident and appertaining to his Office in Particularity are as followeth.

First, he is to attend the Maior and Common-Council at all Times, being lawfully summoned, and according to his Knowledge to advise, instruct, and inform them in all Things concerning the Government, Usages, Customs, Liberties, and Privileges, of the City.

Also he, if he be thereunto required, in the Absence of the Town-Clerk, shall sit down and write all such Acts, Orders, and Determinations, as by the Maior and Common-Council shall be concluded and agreed upon.

Also he shall not discover nor open the Secrets and Counsels of the Maior and Common-Council, to the Hurt of them or of the Commonwealth.

Also

Also he shall see that all the Records, Charters, Miniments, Evidences, and other Writings of the Chamber, shall be safely kept in the Treasury of the Council-Chamber, and shall not deliver, carry out, nor shew, them, or any of them out of that Place, to any Person or Persons, without the Consent of the Maior, or some necessary and urgent Cause.

Also he shall be present and attendant at all and every the City's Audits; and all the Accompts to be heard and passed before the Auditors he shall see and cause to be put up in the Treasury of the Council-Chamber.

Also he shall from Time to Time survey and take the View of all the City's Manors, Lordships, Woods, Lands, and Houfings, and to see that no Part thereof be impaired, embezzled, or lost, and the same, or any Part, being ruinous or in Decay, to be in Time convenient repaired and amended.

Also he shall aid, help, and instruct the Receiver, and all other Officers, in all Things to their Office appertaining, as well for any-thing concerning the City's Works, or for the Overseeing of the Workmen, and providing all Things necessary for the same.

Also he shall have a special Care to the Defending and Preservation of the Commonwealth, and of all the Privileges of the same, and especially of the Orders of the Orphans according to the Charter, Orders, and Ordinances of the same.

The Office of the TOWNCLERK.

THE Townclerk was an Officer even as old as the oldest, and in Times past he was yearly chosen as other Officers, and most commonly he was one of the Stewards or Bailiffs; of which Number One was always Learned, and of good Experience

ence and Knowledge in the Laws, Usages, Customs, and Orders of the City : But, in the End, for sundry Reasons and Considerations, this Office was altogether cast upon one Man, who being once chosen, did continue therein so long and until he died, or for some reasonable Cause was removed. The Office is of great Credit and Importance ; for he is not only to write and truly to set down both in Records and in Books what is done by the Maior and Bailiffs in their Courts, and by their Offices, and by the Common-Council in their Assemblies, but also to inform and instruct them what is to be done, and what every of them ought to do : And therefore his Service is so requisite and necessary that he can at no Time be absent, or elong himself from out of the City, without special Licence. The chiefest Points of his Office are these.

First, He must be honest, wise, and learned, and well acquainted in the Knowledge of the Charters, Records, Customs, Liberties, and Orders, of the City ; which he shall defend.

Also he must attend the Maior and Bailiffs at and in all their Courts, and at and in doing their Offices, at all Time and Times, and is to instruct and inform them how they are to proceed in the Execution thereof.

Also he may not lie out or be absent out of the City any one Night, without special Leave and Licence.

Also he is to make true Entries, and to keep true Records, of all the whole Process of the Maior and Bailiffs Courts, and the same to engross weekly in Parchment, and at the Year's End to deliver them into the Treasury.

Also he is to attend the Maior and Common-Council, and to give them his best Advice in all their Doings, and whatsoever by them, or the more Part of them, shall be determined shall register and write in their Book of Acts. These, nor any other, Secrets of the City shall he not disclose to the Hurt or Prejudice of them or of the City.

Also

Also he shall aid and assist, instruct and inform, all and every Officer and Officers for the true doing their Offices and Duties.

Also he shall attend to keep the Audits of the City, and all the Accompts he shall ingross in Parchment.

Also he must maintain and defend all the Liberties and Privileges of the City, and the Right of the Orphans, to his uttermost.

Also he is to attend the Markets and the weighing of Bread, furing of Weights and Measures, making of Proclamations, and, finally, whatsoever else appertaineth to be done for and concerning the Government of the City.

Many other Things are required to be done by him, which are more at large set down in the Black Book.



The Office of the S E R G E A N T S.

THE Sergeants are very antient Officers, and had their Beginning when the Magistrate had. First they were called *Sub-Ballivi*, because, under the Head-Bailiffs, they were wont to collect and gather the Issues of the City, and to execute their Precepts and Commandments. After this they were called *Ministri Curie*, because their greatest Service then was to attend the Court, and to execute Services thereunto appertaining. And lastly they were and are yet called *Servientes ad Clavam*: And according to the special Point of their Service they take their several Names *Serjeants at the Mace*; for that is chiefly required of them, to summon, attach, and arrest, all such Persons as against whom any Action or Suit is commenced in any of the Courts within this City; and by their *Mace*, which is their Warrant, they are known to be the Ministers to that End. They are also
the

the general Servitors in all or the most Part of all the Affairs in the Commonweal, and in whose Services resteth the Performance and Execution of all Things to be done, wherein if they should be corrupted, slothful, careless, and negligent, then should all the Travels of the Magistrates, the Government of the Commonwealth, and the Execution of all Laws and Orders, be frustrate and come to small Effect. It is requisite therefore that they be of good Name, Credit, and Honesty, void and free from all Corruption and Bribery, and also diligent and careful to execute and perform what to their Office appertaineth and belongeth. Many are the Things and sundry which are incident and appertaining to their Ministries and Services, and all which were too long to be set down in these Presents; but, of many, these few here following may suffice:

First, That they be Men of honest Fame and of good Credit and Behaviour, and sworn to the Liberties of the City, that they be loyal and obedient to the Magistrates and Governors, and careful to keep and maintain the common Peace and Quietness, and ready to do and perform all such Things as to them shall be commanded and enjoined by the Maior and Magistrates.

Also they must serve and attend the Maior at all Time and Times convenient, namely, to bring him upon Sundays and Festival Days to the Churches at Divine Services and Preachings; at the Guildhall upon every Monday to and from the Court; at the Markets upon Wednesdays and Fridays, and at the Shambles upon Saturdays; at making of Proclamations, &c.

Also some one of them, by Course, is specially to attend the Maior himself, and not to be absent from him nor his House.

Also they are to attend the Bailiffs at the Provost Court, and at the Markets, and in all Things to be done at their Commandments.

Also they are to summon, attach, and arrest, all and every
Z such

such Person and Persons as are to be summoned, attached, and arrested, by Action or Commandement, and all such as be so summoned, attached, or arrested, to carry and bring to the Counter or Place appointed for Ward, unless he or they do put in sufficient Bail, if the Matter be baileable.

Also they shall impanel indifferent Inquests between Party and Party, and shall certify the same to the Court, before the same be returned.

Also they shall levy and execute all manner of Distresses, Condemnations, Judgments, and Executions, awarded in any of the Courts: They shall likewise do and execute all manner of Commandments and Precepts of the Maior and Common-Council, Justices, and Aldermen.

Also they shall, from Time to Time, give summons to every Inhabitant for their Watchmen and Marketmen, when their Turn cometh.

Also they shall not take any Bribes, nor be corrupted to do any-thing for or concerning the Execution of their Office.

Also they shall, upon every Monday at the Court, present all Breakers of the Peace, all manner of Misdemeanors, which they know to have been done the Week before.

Also they, or one of them at least, shall attend the Auditors of the City, at any Time when the Audits shall be kept.

Also they shall not lie out of the City any one Night without special Licence.

Also they shall not, so long as they shall be Sergeants, wear the Livery, or serve any Man, in any Office or otherwise.

Also they shall not discover nor disclose the Councils or Secrets of the City to any Person or Persons, to the Hurt of the City.

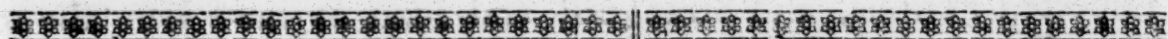
Also what Service soever is to be done concerning the City, and Government of the same, they are, and must be, at all Commandments, and in Readiness to execute the same.

Also

The Office of the Constables. 179

Also they shall, upon every Monday, present the Death of every Inhabitant of the City, which leaveth any Heir or Orphans behind him.

The rest of their Charge and Offices are written in the Black Book.



The Office of the CONSTABLES.

THE Office of a Constable is very ancient, and in Times past the Chiefest within the Realm for Conservation of the Peace, and thereof taketh his Name *Constabularius*, quasi *Cuncta stabiliens*, one that establisheth and setteth all Things in Peace, good Order, and Quietness. What Constables by Law may do, and in Times past were wont to do, it is needless now to set down, because a great Part of their Office is shorten'd, and committed by Statute to the Justices of the Peace; and unto whom, and to whose Commandments they are now Servitors and to attend; yet many Things are incident and belonging to their Charge, of which these which follow are the chiefest to be kept by such as are within Cities and Towns.

First, they must keep, and see to be kept, the Queen's Peace, and the Common Tranquility of the City and County.

Also they must take and apprehend all Malefactors, Peace-breakers, Routers, and Rioters, all Men going armed, or carrying any Pistols, and wearing any privy Coat, all Traytors, Felons, Murtherers, and every other Person or Persons offending against the Peace, and the Crown, and them to commit and bring to the Ward, to be safely kept until he be brought before the Maior and Justices.

Also they are to take and arrest all such Persons as live idly and suspiciously, Nightwatchers, Drunkards, Players at unlawful Games, Rogues, Vagabonds, Whores, and Bawds, and all

such as cannot give good Account how, and in what Vocation, they do live.

Also they are, from Time to Time, to search, both by Day and by Night, all suspected Houses, and all Inn-houses, for all suspected Persons, and Strangers, and such as have lien about three Days and three Nights, in any Inn, or other House, having no sufficient Business or other Cause so to do; and them they are to commit and send to Ward, there to remain until they be further examined.

Also they are to search and view whether every Inhabitant and Housekeeper have in his House, and in Readiness, a Club, or some sufficient Weapon, for Defence of himself, and for keeping of the Peace.

Also they must upon Sundays and Holidays, at the Time of Prayers and Preachings, walk the Streets, to see and search whether any Person and Persons be sitting or standing idly in the Streets, or be at any Ale-house or Tipling-house, or be at any Game or Games, and without just Cause be absent from the Sermons, Preachings, and Prayers, and these either to commit to Ward or send to the Church.

Also they are upon Sundays and Holidays, upon the Court Days, and Quarter-Sessions Days, to attend the Maior from thence to his House.

Also they are to attend the Maior and Justices, to do and obey their Commandments for all Things concerning their Offices, and by them to be done.

Also they are upon every Monday to present the Death of every Free Citizen for that Week past, leaving any Heir or Orphan behind him, or having any Lands or Tenths, and who is his next Heir.

Also they are to join with the Scavengers, and other expert Men, whensoever any Question is between the Lord and the Tenant,

nant, or Occupier of any House, for and concerning Payments of Rents, Reparations, Ammisances, Removing of Implements, &c.

Also to view and searck whether any Brewer, Baker, or other Person, have their Ovens, Fornaces, Chimnies, or Backs, ruinous and in Danger and Peril of Fire.

Finally, they are to attend in all Matters touching the Queen's Service, the Keeping of the Peace, the Repressing of Malefactors, and of the Commandments of the Maior, the Justices, and the Aldermen.

Also they are specially to attend the Maior as well upon Sundays to and from S. Peters at the Sermons, as upon Mondays to and from the Guildhall, as at all other Times convenient, and being thereunto required.

For other Things concerning their Offices look into the Black Book.



The Office of the SCAVENGERS.

THE Scavengers are necessary Officers, and who cannot be wanting in any well-govern'd City or Town, because by them, and their Service, all Things noisome to the Health of Man, and hurtful to the State of the Body of the Commonwealth, are advertised unto the Magistrate, and so they be a Means of the Redress thereof. And therefore they be called Scavengers, as who saith *Shewers* or *Advertisers*, for so the Word soundeth. The speciallest Points incident to their Offices are these.

First, they are to see the Peace and common Tranquility of the City to be kept.

Item, that the Streets be well paved, and meet for all Passages of Man, Horse, and Cart, and that they be weekly swept
and

and made clean, and the Sweeping carried away; and that none lay Timber, Stones, or any like Thing, in the Streets, but during the Time of building.

Item, that there be no Slaughter of Cattle or Beast kept within the Walls; that no Pigs or filthy Beast be kept within the same; no Dunghils nor any noisom Thing kept, whereby the Air be corrupted, or the People annoied.

Item, that there be no Houses, Pentises, Chimnies, nor Walls, nor any other Thing, hanging or standing dangerously, to the Peril and Danger of such as shall pass thereby.

Item, that they do make view and search whether every Inhabitant do yearly, and from Time to Time, as Occasion shall require, cleanse and sweep their Chimnies; and that all Ovens, Fornaces, Mantels, Backs, and such like, be kept in such Order as thereby no Peril of Fire may happen.

Item, that when any House is adventured with Fire, that then they do take order as well for voiding of the Press of the People as to see and to bring Ladders, Crooks, Water, and all Things necessary, in Place for quenching of the Fire.

Item, that every Housholder have at all Time and Times in the Summer, and hot and dry Weather, a Tub or some other Vessel, full of Water, in Readiness, at or near their Fore-door, for the quenching of Fire if any House should happen to be adventured, and for cleansing of the Streets.

Item, that the common Conduits be clean and orderly kept, and the Pipes which convey the Water from the Spring to the said Conduits be well repaired and maintained from Time to Time, and that no private Person do incroach the Common Commodity of the Waters therein for brewing, washing, or any such like Use, other than for dressing of their Meats, and such like.

Item,

Item, that no manner of Person do inroach any Part of the Streets or Ways to his private Use, nor to build nor set any Porch, Bulk, Stall, Windows, Wall, Chimney, or any other Edifices, upon the said Streets or Soil, or any Part thereof, before a Composition be made with the Maior and Common Council.

Item, that whensoever any Controversy doth happen between Lord and Tenant, for and concerning the orderly Payments of Rents, or removing of Implements, or other Buildings, that they call unto them the Constables, and other expert Artificers and Men of Knowledge, and then, according to the Truth, and Customs of the City, to decide the same.

Item, that they weekly, upon every Monday, at the Court, do present all Breaches of the Peace, Misorders, and all other Defaults appertaining to their Office.

Item, that they do, upon every Sunday, Festival-day, and Monday, attend the Maior to and from his House to the Court, and to the Church of *S. Peters* at the Sermons.

Item, that they be attendant to the Maior, Bailiffs, and all other Officers, at all Time and Times whensoever they shall be required concerning any Service of the Prince and Commonwealth.

The rest of their Charge is contained in the Black Book.



The Office of the S W O R D B E A R E R.

THE Office of the Swordbearer is of a late Erektion, and had his Beginning when King *Henry VII.* in the 13th Year of his Reign, came to this City for the resisting of *Perkin Warbecke*, at which Time, for the good Service of the Maior and Citizens, he gave his own Sword from his Waist unto the
Maior,

Maïor, with the Privilege that the same, and the Hat of Maintenance, should, for ever, at all Times convenient, be borne before him; and for the doing of this Service the Swordbearer was then chosen: The Points of whose Office are these, and such like, as followeth.

First, he is to attend the Maïor for bearing the Sword before him upon Sundays and Festival Days, when he goeth to *S. Peters* to the Sermons, and upon Mondays and Session Days when he goeth to the Hall, and upon and at all other Times and Days when any Proclamation shall be made, or he thereto required.

Also he shall attend the Maïor at the Markets, and at the weighing of the Assises of the Bakers Bread, and all other like Services.

Also he is to attend the Maïor at his Table, and at all other convenient Times when he shall be thereunto required.

Also he shall keep the common Peace, apprehend Malefactors, and preserve the State and Privileges of the City as much as in him lieth.

Also he shall not discover nor disclose any Secrets or Counsels of the City to the Prejudice of the same, nor consent to any Hurt to be done against the said City or any Officer, but shall discover it to such Officer or Officers as it shall appertain.

Also, as being a Sergeant at Arms, he shall attend the Causes of the Orphans, as well at the Court of the Orphans as at all other Times, and in all other Things, pertaining to the Behoof of Orphans, according to the Orders of the same; that is to say, he shall upon every Monday present the Name of every Inhabitant of the City dead, and leaving any Orphans. He shall call for the Testiment and Inventory of every such deceased Man; he shall call the Praisors appointed before the Alderman of the Quarter to be sworn; he shall sequester the Goods and execute the Writs of *Scire facias et fieri facias*, and all Proceſs to him directed

directed for the Behoof of the Orphans: He shall summon the Courts for Orphans as to him shall be commanded.

Sundry like Things are incident to his Charge, and which are set down in the Book of Orders for Orphans.



The Office of the WARDENS of the Magdalen
and of the Poor.

THESE Officers are of Trust, and committed to such as should take a special Care for the Poor, as well for the good ordering of them in Persons, as for the Preservation of such Lands and Goods as are provided for their Sustenance and Maintenance.

First, therefore, the Warden of the Magdalen is to govern and to see to be governed all such Lazar People as shall be received for Sick Persons into the Magdalen-House, according to the Orders of the said House, and according to the Direction of the Maior and Common Council.

Also that they be weekly paid of such Salaries and Stipends as to them is and shall be assigned by the Maior and Common Council.

Also the Warden's Proctor shall provide, and see to be provided, Meat, Drink, Washing, Cleansing, and all other Things necessary for them.

Also the said Warden shall see their Church, Houses, and Buildings, from Time to Time, to be repair'd.

Also he shall be careful to save, keep, and preserve, the Lands, Rents, and Profits whatsoever appointed and allowed for the Maintenance of the said Hospital.

Also they shall not admit any Person or Persons to be one of the said Hospital without the Consent of the Maior and Com-

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mon Council, and that the same be a sick Person in the Disease of the Leprosy.

Also they shall not set, let, nor demise, any the Lands belonging to the said Hospital, without the Consent and Agreement of the Maior and XXIV.

Also they shall yearly yield up and make a true Accompt before the Auditors of the City of all their Receipts and Payments, and upon the Determination of the said Accompt shall discharge, pay, and satisfy what shall be found remaining in their Hands, and to be due by them.

The like is required of every Warden of the Poor, and for every Alms-house, and of every Collector for the same.



The Office of the WARDENS of the Bridges.

THE Wardens of the Bridges, commonly called by the Names of the Wardens of Exbridge, are very antient Officers, and of great Credit, and in Times past great Circumspection was had in the Choice of them, and for the most part they were most grave Citizens. They were always Two in Number, the one being the elder, and the other the younger. The Things which are incident to their Offices are as followeth.

First, they both jointly are to have the care to view and search, from Time to Time, the Two Bridges which belong to the City's Reparations, as namely *Ex-bridge* and *Cowleigh-bridge*, and the Banks next adjoining on every Side of Saint *Leonard's* Weare, and what Defaults soever they shall find and see to be amended, or be advertised thereof by the Receiver or Chamberlain of the City that they do cause the same to be repaired and amended.

The Head Warden is to collect, receive, and gather, all the Rents, Revenues, Profits, and Issues, belonging to the Bridges, and shall, after the End of his Year, at the Time appointed, make

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make a true and perfect Account of all his Receipts and Payments, before the Auditors of the City, asking no Allowance but as shall be just and true.

Also he shall procure and provide, from Time to Time, by the Advice and Direction of the Chamberlain of the City, all Things meet and necessary, as well for the Reparations of the Houses belonging to the Bridge, as for the Bridges themselves, and all Things thereunto appertaining.

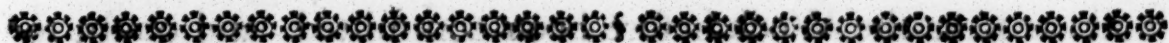
Also he shall provide and procure, by the Advice aforesaid, meet and convenient Workmen and Labourers for and about all the aforesaid Buildings and Reparations, and to see them weekly, and from Time to Time, to be paid for their Salaries and Wages.

Also he shall see and command the Bridge called Exbridge to be cleansed and swept from Time to Time, and that no Dunghills, nor Heaps of Dirt, do lie upon the same.

Also the Young Warden is to attend and take the Oversight of the Workmen, that they do keep their Times and Work, and that nothing do want them being necessary.

Also he is to keep Account of the Number of the Workmen, and to see that there be no Waste or Spoil, either of the Work, or of any Thing provided for the Work.

Also they are to attend the Maior, upon Sundays and Festival Days, to and from S. Peters Church, as other Officers do, and are bound to do.



The Office of the WARDENS of the Shambles.

THE Office of the Wardens of the Shambles are very ancient, and chosen yearly by the Maior and Common Council when other Officers are, and their Office is specially to attend

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all Things as be necessary for and concerning Flesh Viſtuals, and the good ordering of the ſame, and of the Shambles. The ſpecial Points are theſe :

Fiſt, they are upon every Saturday, except it be ſome Holy Day, or Feſtival Day, at or about One of the Clock in the Afternoon, to come to the Maior's Houſe, and to bring him to and from the Shambles.

Alſo they are to ſee, then, and at all other Times, the Shambles to be furniſhed with Meat, good, wholeſome, and ſufficient for the City.

Alſo that no Slaughters be kept in any Place within the Walls of the City.

Alſo that no Pigs be nourished, nor Dunghills, nor any corrupt Thing breeding a corrupt Air, be kept within the Walls of the City.

Alſo that no Bull unbaited, no Sow brenning, nor Yew tupping, nor any Beaſt unſeaſonable, be ſlaughter'd, nor Fleſh blown, ſoiſtered, ſalted, or unreaſonable, be ſet to ſale.

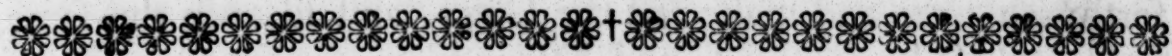
Alſo that no Butcher do ingroſs, foreſtall, nor regrate, any Viſtuals, nor do ſell the ſame but at reaſonable Prices.

Alſo that every Butcher, upon every Market-day, do bring with the Carcaſe the Fell or Skin of every Beaſt ſlaughter'd.

Alſo that they do attend, upon every Sunday, and Feſtival Days, the Maior to the Church, and upon every Monday to the Guildhall Court, as other Officers are bound to do; and that, upon every Monday, at the Court, they do preſent all ſuch Faults as have the Week before been committed, and ought to be preſented.

Item, that none of the Butchers do keep any Market, or open Shop, upon the Sundays.

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The Office and Duty of the PORTERS.

THE Porters are Officers of good Trust, and unto whose Credit is committed the Safety of the City; for, when every Man taketh his Rest, and thinketh to be in Safety, it is their Office that the Gates be not at Commandment of such as by whom their Rests and Sleeps be disturbed nor unquieted, by receiving any Person or Persons into the Gates, nor in doing of any Act which may be hurtful to the City, or Inhabitants of the same.

First, therefore, they must, every Night, shut and make fast, the City's Gates, at the Times and Hours appointed and accustomed, that is, at Ten of the Clock at Night in the Summer, and at Nine of the Clock in the Winter; and likewise must open the said Gates at the Times accustomed, that is, at Four of the Clock in the Morning in the Summer, and at Five of the Clock in the Winter.

Also, in the Times of Wars, Commotions, and Rebellions, they are to deliver up the Keys into the Custody of the Maior.

Also, at no Time in the Night, after the Gates be shut, they shall suffer any Person, or Persons, to come, or go in and out, but such as they do know to be honest, and of good Credit and Conversation.

Also, at all Time and Times, if any Post happen to come, they shall open the Gates to receive him, and to bring him to the Maior, and to his Lodging.

Also, if any Hue-and-cry shall happen to be, they shall open the Gates to receive and follow the same.

Also, if any Tumults, Uproars, Escapes of Prisoners, Firing of Houses, or any such-like Things shall happen, they shall forthwith

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forthwith close and make fast the Gates, and so keep the same shut until all be appeased, and Order given for the Opening of them.

Also they shall attend the Maior, upon every Sunday, and Festival Days, to and from *S. Peters Church*, and upon every Monday to the Guildhall Court, as other Officers do, and are bound to do, and shall at the said Court present all Bloodsheds, Frays, and Breaches of the Peace, and whatsoever else by them is and ought to be presented.



The Office of the BULLRING-KEEPER, named commonly the Maior of the Bullring.

THE Maior of the Bullring is an Office of Countenance, and appointed for the keeping of a good Order in such Things as be committed to his Trust and Office.

First, when any Bull or Bear Baiting is appointed, he is first to make the Maior privy thereof, and no Baiting to be used within the City, but that the said Maior be present, or give Leave thereunto.

Also he shall see all Things to be well and orderly used at such Pastimes.

Also he shall not see or suffer any Pigs, Poultry, or Ducks, to range abroad the Streets.

Also, upon every Market-day, he shall not suffer any Horse to stand in the Streets, in the Market-Place, but shall cause them to be carried out of the Market.

Also, if any Strayers come, he shall cause them to be brought to the Place of the High Conduit, upon the Market-Days, and there to be tied to the Ring, and to be proclaimed in the Market, and from Market-day to Market-day, during three Markets, to keep them in Pound, or in some Place safely.

Also,

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Also, if the said Beasts be * chained and challenged, he shall, upon Proof made before the Maior and Bailiffs, redeliver to the Owners, taking his Fees, and for the reasonable Keeping of such Beasts in the mean-time.

Also, if the said Beasts, at or within three Courts, be not challenged, then he shall bring them at the Guildhall, the next Monday then following, and there to be praised.

Also he shall attend the Maior upon Sundays to the Church, and upon Mondays to the Court, as other Officers do, and ought to do.

The Office of the WATCHMEN and WARDENS.

THE Watchmen are Officers of Trust, for the safe Custody and Preservation of the City, as well in Times of Troubles and Wars as in the Days of Peace, when ordinary Night-Watches by the Laws of the Realm are kept.

First, the Watchmen are Houshoulders, who, by Course, are to watch themselves, in Person, or to appoint some meet and convenient Persons in their Place, and which are to be well and sufficiently armed with Harnesse and Weapon.

Also they are to repair, in the Summer, in the Evening, immediately upon the Sunset, unto the Guildhall, and there to take their Oath, to hear their Charge, and to receive their Watchword.

Also they are to depart hence in good Order, and to go to every of the Gates, and to see them to be shut and made fast, and then to come all to Corfoixe, or the Great Conduit; and there to divide themselves into their several Quarters, by Order of such as be appointed Captains over them, and the same several Quarters they shall guard and keep.

Also,

* Probably this Word chained is an Error of the Press and claimed was that which the Author wrote.

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Also they shall all Night be watchful, walking abroad in their Divisions, leaving always some one at the least at the Gate.

Also they shall view and look whether all Things be quiet, and in good Order; and if they find any Candle-light in any House late and out of Season, they shall cause the same to be put out, unless some Cause be to the contrary; and if they find any Fires perilous, or Houses adventured, they shall rouse and call up the Scavengers and Constables, and other the Officers for quenching thereof.

Also, if they find any Nightwatchers, Players, Quarrellers, Drunkards, suspect Persons, whatsoever, they shall apprehend them, and bring them either to the Ward or to some convenient Place, as where the Parties may be forth-coming before the Magistrate the next Morning.

Also, if any Post or Stranger come, they shall receive him, if his Errand and Coming be honest, and shall bring him to his Lodging, or present him to the Magistrate, according as his Cause shall require.

Also they shall attend the Maier, upon every Monday, at the Guildhall Court, and then and there to present what Faults have been done and committed in the Nights of the Watches.

Also that in their Watches they do ball and kill all such Dogs as they shall find balling or ranging in the Streets, or lying out of any Man's House.



There be other Officers which are sworn also; as, the Justices of the Peace, the Sheriffs, the Clark of the Peace, the Under-Sheriffs, &c. But, forasmuch as their Offices are limited by Statutes, and at large therein expressed, I will refer them to the same.

F I N I S.



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